GRANDPARENT-GRANDCHILD ATTACHMENT AS A PREDICTOR OF PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT AMONG YOUTH FROM DIVORCED FAMILIES

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The current study investigates grandparent attachment as a protective factor of the psychological adjustment of youth from divorced families. Participants consisted of 960 volunteer adolescents between the ages of 12 and 20 from both divorced and intact families. Participants completed questionnaires concerning their attachment to their grandparents, the influence their grandparents had in their lives, their interpersonal competence, their self-efficacy, and a psychological symptom checklist. Results indicated that when adjusting for the amount of contact between their mothers and maternal grandmothers, participants in junior high and high school from intact homes reported greater self-efficacy than participants in junior high and high school from divorced families. In addition structural equation modeling demonstrated that a model containing a direct effect from grandparent attachment to the participants' reports of symptoms, interpersonal competence, and self-efficacy fit the data well for participants from both divorced and intact families. However, path coefficients were significantly higher for the participants from divorced families. Results support the hypothesis that attachment to maternal grandmothers serves as a protective factor for youth from divorced families and suggests that counselors providing post-divorce counseling to youth may benefit from including grandparents in their treatment planning.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One of the most prominent demographic changes that has occurred to the American family over the last 30 years is the increased number of divorces. In the United States, approximately 50 percent of marriages are likely to end in divorce (Brehm & Kassin, 1990). Research has been fairly consistent in demonstrating negative short-term effects of divorce. Specifically, in comparison to those living in intact families, children of divorced parents demonstrate more aggression (Emery, Hetherington, & DiLalla, 1984; Felner, Ginter, Boike, & Cowen, 1981), problems with peers (Felner, Stolberg, & Cowen, 1975; Guidabaldi, Cleminshaw, Perry, & McLaughlin, 1983), and academic difficulties (Guidabaldi et al., 1983; Hetherington, Camara, & Featherman, 1983).

In their literature review on children and divorce, Emery et al. (1984), reported that children living with one parent performed less well on measures of physical health, psychological adjustment, academic performance, and social interactions with peers and parents. Other researchers have reported that children of divorced parents are overrepresented in mental health clinics (Guttentag, Salasin, & Belle, 1980; Kalter & Rembar, 1981).

In terms of long-term adjustment, the research is less clear (Kalter, 1987); however, the evidence suggests that a sizable minority of children are negatively impacted by their parents' divorce. Kulka and Weingarten (1979) found several long-term adjustment problems among participants that experienced the divorce of their parents

before age 16. These long-term effects include higher divorce rates, more work-related problems, and higher levels of emotional distress than those who were raised in intact families.

Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1982, 1985) and Wallerstein and her colleagues have conducted extensive longitudinal studies of the short and long-term effects of parental divorce that have become classic studies in the social sciences. Hetherington, et al. (1982) began following families two months after the parental divorce was final. At two months post divorce, the children from divorced homes, in which the mother had custody, demonstrated more externalizing acting out behaviors (e.g., impulsivity, aggression, and noncompliance) more internalizing behaviors (e.g., anxiety and depression), more problems with peers, and more school problems than their peers from intact families. These problems persisted through a two-year follow-up period and were more severe and persistent for the males.

Hetherington, et al. (1985) also conducted an assessment at six years post divorce. They discovered that these problems remained intact, with externalizing behaviors more persistent in males, and internalizing behaviors more persistent in females. Externalizing behaviors at earlier follow-up periods were found to be associated with later development of internalizing behaviors. For the females, psychological adjustment was similar between the individuals from divorced and nondivorced homes; however, males from divorced homes were more aggressive and less socially adept than their peers from intact homes.

Wallerstein and her colleagues collected data on children from divorced families for 10 years. They investigated the progression of symptomatology over time for children

at three developmental levels: (a) those between the ages of 2 and 6 1/2 at the time of divorce, (b) a middle aged group, who were in early latency at divorce, and (c) a group of preadolescent and adolescent children. The youngest children were found to have intense adjustment difficulties, demonstrating strong neediness and dependence, developmental regression, and acute separation anxiety at the time of the divorce (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1975). Almost half of these children appeared more troubled than they had initially at the 18-month follow-up. Males particularly appeared to be experiencing difficulty, demonstrating more trouble at school and at home than the females (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1975). At the 10-year follow-up, the majority of the children had few memories of their previous intact family. Furthermore, although fear was the most prominent symptom at the initial interview, few reported feeling fearful at the 10-year follow-up. Therefore, Wallerstein (1984) argues that although these children were the most distressed immediately following the divorce, in the long term, they may be the least troubled age group. It appears that the limited cognitive capacity of these children at the time of divorce spared them the painful memories reported by the older children in the study. However, divorce remained to be a central aspect in their lives, as 30 % reported strong sadness regarding the divorce.

Initial findings for the latency-aged children indicated that they were preoccupied with issues of loss and separation (Kelly & Wallerstein, 1976). The reactions of these children were reminiscent of children that experience parental death. In addition, these children experienced intense anxiety that impacted their schoolwork and their interpersonal relationships. They also reported a great deal of anger toward their mothers.

However, at the 10-year follow-up, most of these children were doing at least average in school; one fourth were doing poorly or failing (Wallerstein, 1987).

Many of these children reported negative feelings and resentment toward their fathers. They also expressed sadness regarding the loss of what they perceived to be the more nurturing and protective environment of intact families. Many of these children had high levels of anxiety concerning relationships with the opposite sex and marriage. Females appeared to be less reluctant than males to become involved in dating and sexual relationships. Approximately one half of the males and one fourth of the females were considered to be at high risk at the ten -year follow-up (Wallerstein, 1987).

The oldest group of participants included a wide range of ages, ranging from 9 to 19, and developmental levels, one group consisting of those in latency and preadolescence, and one consisting of adolescents. These two groups demonstrated marked differences in terms of their initial reactions. The preadolescent group demonstrated strong feelings of fear and intense anger at one or both of their parents. About half of these children showed a severe drop in their school performance, which persisted through the year following the divorce. On the other hand, the adolescent group expressed anxiety regarding their own future. Many were helpful and compassionate toward their parents, acting as a support to their parents during the difficult transition.

These two groups (i.e., preadolescent and adolescent) reported similar experiences at the ten-year follow-up consisting of vivid memories of the unhappy events that occurred at the time of the divorce. Like the latency-aged children, they expressed a sense of having missed out on presumably positive experiences of having grown up in an intact family. Unlike their latency-aged counterparts, as a group they expressed a strong

commitment to the ideals of a lasting marriage; however, many females appeared wary of commitment and betrayal in intimate relationships (Wallerstein, 1987).

In comparing groups, Wallerstein (1987) concluded that at the ten-year follow-up, the older aged children were less well adjusted than the youngest group of children, who had been preschoolers when the divorce occurred. These findings highlight the importance of age, or perhaps more fundamentally, developmental level as an important variable involved in childrens' adjustment to divorce. In addition, adolescence has come to be regarded as a unique group concerning their transition to divorce. For example, Springer and Wallerstein (1983) have speculated that divorce and remarriage may be especially problematic for individuals that have experienced divorce as adolescents due to the unique developmental tasks that adolescents face such as negotiating issues regarding discipline, autonomy, sexuality, and parent and peer relationships.

Also supporting the uniqueness of the adolescent experience of divorce, Frost and Pakiz (1990) found that following divorce, in comparison to younger children, adolescents demonstrated more delinquent behavior. In addition, female adolescents demonstrated more depressive symptoms and truancy than males. However, Palosaari and Aro (1994) found that depression was more common in males who experienced divorce between the ages of 7 and 12 than in adolescents. Doherty and Needle (1991) and Neighbors, Forehand, and Armistead (1992) conducted prospective studies in which adolescents were assessed prior to and following parental divorce. Together, this research indicates that adolescents demonstrated less emotional stability, more conflict with parents, more substance abuse and more academic problems than peers from intact families. Again, gender differences appear evident with females demonstrating problems

before the divorce and little change subsequent to the divorce (Doherty & Needle, 1991). Neighbors, et al. (1992) demonstrated that males began to have academic problems prior to the divorce that remained relatively stable following the divorce. Females showed a decrease in GPA, which began prior to divorce and continued to decline following divorce.

Taken together, this research suggests that most children experience negative short and long-term effects of divorce related to psychological symptomatology, social competence and school performance. These consequences appear to be especially sensitive to age or developmental level, with young children experiencing the effects most intensely immediately following the divorce; however, over time, young children appear to be less impacted by negative consequences. Preadolescent children and adolescents appear to be more susceptible to long-term consequences. Gender also appears to be important, although research is mixed, suggesting that while the experience of males and females may be different, both are significantly impacted by divorce.

The current research project examines the divorce process, paying particular attention to the possible protective role that grandparents can play in the family system, serving as a buffer, insulating youth from the negative consequences that many face in the aftermath of divorce. From a theoretical point of view, attachment theory is particularly relevant, as its theoretical constructs are pertinent to the behavior of individuals and families under stress. Particular lines of research pertinent to the current project will be reviewed. Not all youth from divorced families experience negative consequences, so the literature review will focus first on mediators involved in the divorce process. As divorce affects the entire family system, literature on divorce as an

intergenerational experience will then be reviewed. To cast the literature and the findings of the current project in the theoretical framework of attachment theory, the review will then focus on a brief review of attachment theory and a discussion of research studies dealing with attachment theory that present findings relevant to the divorce process. Finally, as the current project focuses on the role of grandparents in the divorce process, literature will be reviewed pertaining to grandparents and divorce.

Statement of the Problem

Approximately fifty percent of first marriages end in divorce; the number of remarriages that end in divorce is even higher (Brehm & Kassin, 1990). Therefore, a substantial proportion of youth in the United States will be affected by divorce. Given that the majority of research indicates negative short-term effects among children of divorce and that a large number of these youth experience negative long-term effects as well, divorce is a significant social concern. It is incumbent on family researchers to study factors that may mitigate the negative consequences that many youth experience as the result of this divorce. One such mitigating factor may be the attachment the child has with a supportive grandparent. Therefore, the aim of the current study is to investigate the role that the grandchildren-grandchild relationship can play in the psychological adjustment of the child that has experienced divorce.

Research Hypotheses

1. The overriding working hypothesis presented in this study is that strong attachment to grandparents serves as a protective factor for youth from divorced families.

2. Youth from divorced families will report lower levels of interpersonal competence, self-efficacy, and higher levels of symptomatology than youth from intact families.
3. For the youth from divorced families, higher levels of attachment to maternal grandmothers will be associated with lower levels of symptomatology, and higher levels of social competence and self-efficacy.
4. The relationship of maternal grandmother attachment to symptomatology, social competence, and self-efficacy will be mediated by the extent of influence that the youth perceives that their maternal grandparents have on their lives.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE SURVEY

Mediating Variables

Although the majority of children and adolescents from divorced homes demonstrate significant socioemotional problems, this is by no means a universal phenomenon. In addition, Hetherington (1989) reports that most families adjust fairly well to the divorce over time and that some families are more impacted than others. She discusses four patterns of transition that occur among divorcing families: (a) initial period of emotional distress and disrupted functioning (approximately 2-3 years) followed by recovery; (b) intense and enduring deleterious outcomes; (c) delayed effects -- appearing to adapt well in early stages but having problems emerging at a later time; (d) constructive coping, emerging as enhanced and competent individuals. Understanding the factors that contribute to the vulnerability or protection of the members of divorcing families is key to intervening in this difficult transition. These include temperament and personality, family relationships, and extrafamilial factors (Hetherington, 1989).

In terms of family relationships, Hetherington (1989) states that the mother-son relationship in families in which the mother has custody is the relationship most negatively impacted by divorce, particularly with young adolescent sons. This pattern persisted through the 6-year follow-up. In contrast, single parent mothers and their daughters maintained good relationships, with both mothers and daughters expressing satisfaction at the 6-year follow-up. However, more conflictual relationships between

mothers and daughters were found when the daughters were early maturers. In terms of grandparent-grandchild relationships, Hetherington (1989) found that contact with grandparents increased but that there was little evidence that grandparents "play a potent role in the social, emotional, and cognitive development of their grandchildren unless they live in the home" (p. 10). Instead, Hetherington (1989) characterizes grandparents as the parent's reserves when things go wrong.

By means of cluster analysis, Hetherington (1989) identified three clusters of children of divorce. The first was one comprised of aggressive, insecure children. These children suffered from many problems in many different settings. They tended to be noncompliant, impulsive, and aggressive at home, in school, and with their peers. This cluster was comprised of three times as many boys as girls. The homes of these children were characterized by negative affect, conflict, and ineffective and destructive conflict resolution. The parents of these children tended to be disengaged or ineffectively authoritarian. The boys in this group were temperamentally difficult as infants and have no close relationships with adult males. They also had conflictual or distant relationships with their mothers. Girls, on the other hand, tended to have poor relationships with their mothers, but they were relatively unaffected by their relationship with their fathers.

Children in the other two clusters were characterized by Hetherington (1989) as opportunistic-competent and caring-competent. These children adapted well to the divorce. They tended to have high self-esteem, were popular with their peers, and did not demonstrate behavior problems. These two groups tended to have more equivalent gender balances. Although the oppportunistic-competent children were faring well in the transition to divorce, they tended to be somewhat manipulative. Children in the caring-

competent group were highly female. These girls tended to come from a one-parent mother-headed household. They tended to have close relationships with their mothers, and they tended to have contact with other caring adults such as teachers, neighbors, etc. Interestingly, boys in mother-headed households tended to experience difficult transitions. In summing up her research findings, Hetherington states, "depending on the characteristics of the child, particularly the age and gender of the child, available resources, subsequent life experiences, and especially interpersonal relationships, children in the long run may be survivors, losers, or winners of their parents' divorce or remarriage" (Hetherington, 1989, p. 13).

Although the literature has documented many adverse effects associated with divorce, some research indicates that family conflict may be a more important variable than divorce alone. For example, Kurdek and Sinclair (1988) found that positive adolescent adjustment was related to low family conflict, high cohesion, and high social support from peers. Family structure was unrelated to psychological maladjustment when socioeconomic status and demographic variables were statistically controlled. Borrine, Handal, Brown, and Searight (1991) also found that marital status alone or in interaction with family conflict did not significantly predict adolescent adjustment. Rather, family conflict was found to be the crucial factor affecting adjustment. Aro (1988) and Forehand et al. (1991a) report that although divorce was related to lower academic problems, lower self-esteem, and overall psychological maladjustment, that individuals that reported high family conflict demonstrated similar problems. In addition, Forehand et al. (1991a) found that parent-adolescent relationship problems were a better predictor of problematic adolescent adjustment than divorce alone. Forehand et al. (1991b) provides evidence that

suggests that the stresses surrounding divorce may be more influential than the divorce itself. These researchers found that the number of family stressors (e.g., divorce, interparental conflict, maternal depression) was negatively associated with adolescent functioning as opposed to viewing adolescent adjustment as being related to particular stressors such as divorce and family conflict.

Another intervening variable in studying psychological adjustment in relation to divorce is coping style. Krantz, Clark, Pruyn, & Usher (1985) found positive cognitive appraisal was related to fewer adjustment problems following divorce. Sandler, Tein, & West (1994) conducted a prospective longitudinal study of stress, coping, and psychological symptoms that classified individuals into four dimensions of coping: (a) active coping, (b) avoidance, (c) distraction, and (d) social support. These authors found that avoidance was positively correlated with depression, anxiety and conduct problems immediately following the divorce and remaining stable at a six-month follow-up. Distraction appeared to be an effective coping strategy for these children, as using distraction at Time 1 predicted lower anxiety and depression at Time 2. Interestingly, support-seeking at Time 1 predicted higher levels of depression at Time 2. Armistead, et al. (1990) also classified coping into three distinct styles: (a) active-cognitive, (b) active-behavioral, and (c) avoidance. Again, avoidance was associated with poor functioning, especially for females. Males high in avoidance also demonstrated some negative outcomes, but the only significant relationship was that they reported more physical symptoms.

The work of Aro (1988), Borrine, Handal, Brown, and Searight (1991), Hetherington (1989), Forehand et al. (1991a), and Kurdek and Sinclair (1988) all point to

the importance of family relationships, specifically family conflict, to psychological maladjustment either in addition to or more importantly than divorce. Since problematic family relationships predict maladjustment, the opposite may be true, that positive family relationships are related to more successful transitions to divorce. Evidence supporting this inference is provided by Hetherington (1989). In terms of specific family relationships, Oshman and Manosovitz (1976), Anderson and White (1986), Clingempeel and Segal (1986), and Crosbie-Burnett (1984) suggest that positive relationships with stepparents may mediate some negative consequences associated with divorce.

Examination of the variables that mediate negative outcomes of divorce suggests that it is very important to examine the characteristics of the particular, including age, gender, and temperament. The circumstances surrounding the divorce also appear central, as previous research has demonstrated that family conflict may be a more important predictor of problems with psychological adjustment than divorce by itself (Aro, 1988; Borrine, Handal, Brown, & Searight, 1991; Forehand et al., 1991a; Kurdek & Sinclair, 1988). In addition, other research suggests that the stress surrounding the divorce and the way in which stress interacts with coping style may actually be more detrimental to the long-term adjustment of children than the actual event of divorce (Armistead et al., 1990; Forehand et al., 1991b; Krantz, Clark, Pruyn, & Usher, 1985; Sandler, Tein, & West, 1994).

Taken together, this research can be viewed as supporting some of the major tenets of attachment theory. Attachment theory would predict that increasing stress and family transition would activate important attachment relationships. Individuals with secure attachments would seek the help of important family members, and those family

members with more secure attachments would be likely to more readily provide emotional and instrumental support. Individuals with less secure attachments would be less likely to seek and in return provide emotional support. Somewhat in contradiction, family systems and social convoy theories would predict that those with more intimately connected, wider support networks would be more likely to seek and receive support regardless of the attachment style of the family members involved. Although conceivably many family members could provide support to those undergoing divorce, the focus of the current study is on grandparents. Hetherington (1989) reports that the influence of grandparents is minimal, serving mainly as the parent's reserves when things go wrong. However, an opposing point may be raised that even serving as reserves can have a significant impact in the family system and in the life of the child. In addition, much of the research presented below contradicts the findings of Hetherington (1989).

Divorce as an Intergenerational Experience

Although the majority of the divorce literature has focused on the immediate relationships of parents and children/adolescents, many researchers of divorce have proposed that we should expand our focus to involve entire kinship systems as opposed to limiting ourselves to the experience of the nuclear family (Bretherton, Walsh, Lependorf, & Georgeson, 1997; Cooney & Smith, 1996; Hunter, 1997; Johnson, 1998).

Specifically, these researchers, among others, are examining the role of grandparents in the divorce process. As divorce is typically a very stressful process for all parties involved, grandparents may become a potential family resource, mediating some of the negative consequences that divorce presents. However, due to the energy that living through a divorce entails, grandparents' divorcing children may be less able to

provide assistance to them, should the need arise (Cicirelli, 1983, as cited in Johnson, 1998). Furthermore, relationships with their grandchildren may be negatively impacted by the family distress, influencing the meaning that grandparents derive from their role in the family (Kivnick, 1983).

Research on divorce from a three-generation perspective has been limited by a lack of theoretical focus. Recently, however, research conducted by Bretherton et al. (1997) and by Johnson (1998) have brought a more consistent theoretical focus to divorce and grandparenting, with Bretherton et al. (1997) emphasizing attachment theory and Johnson (1998) family systems theory. However, Bretherton et al.'s (1997) research is limited by their exclusive focus on the mother-child relationship. Grandparents are seen as a potential adjunct to bolstering mother-child attachment. While mother-child attachment is obviously very important, it is highly probable that attachment to grandparents is also a viable construct. Current research is also limited by a lack of appropriate comparison groups (i.e., grandparent-grandchild relationships from nondivorced families), small sample sizes, and a limited range of criterion variables. Family relationships are often used as criterion variables; however, family relationships have rarely been correlated with other important outcome variables, such as psychological adjustment and psychopathology. Finally, current research appears to focus on either the grandparent or grandchild perspective; few studies closely examine the bidirectional relationship that exists between grandparents and their grandchildren. The current study will investigate this bidirectional relationship while comparing divorced and intact families. In addition to family relationship quality, psychological adjustment, interpersonal competence, and self-efficacy will serve as criterion variables.

Theoretical Considerations

Given the emotional upheaval and stress that occurs within a family system during divorce, the transition to divorce can be viewed from the perspective of attachment theory. Hobdy (1998) states that life transitions that involve renegotiations of an attachment or loss will raise similar issues experienced in infancy and early childhood. From this point of view, it would be expected that grandparents experiencing the divorce of their own children will be confronted with attachment-related issues. Furthermore, the children would be expected to experience attachment renegotiation. In some cases, the change in the family system may be helpful for the youth, as they may be able to achieve a secure attachment with their grandparents that may mitigate some of the negative consequences of divorce, also possibly being able to work through an insecure attachment to their parents. In other, perhaps most, cases, it would be expected that the youth's attachment to their parents, particularly the noncustodial parent, and possibly their grandparents would be deleteriously affected.

Bliwise (1992) investigated how attachment style and life stage interacted to produce the structure, stability, and emotional qualities of social networks over the adult life course. They found that individuals with secure attachments demonstrated more stability and gratifying relationships over time; those with preoccupied and fearful attachment styles demonstrated more changes in relationships and an increase in conflict in their relationships. Applied to the divorce literature, this indicates that attachment style may predict the extent of grandparental involvement following the divorce.

Kenny and Donaldson (1991) combine the construct of attachment with constructs of structural family theory (Minuchin, 1974) in the study of psychological

symptomatology and interpersonal competence among college students. Minuchin posits that a healthy family provides its members with feelings of belongingness and feelings of differentiation. Extremes of both types of feelings are evidenced in family pathology. Symptoms from a structural view can have the effect of diverting a family's attention from marital difficulties.

Kenny and Donaldson (1991) examined four maladaptive family patterns: (a) parent-child overinvolvement, (b) family fear of separation, (c) parent-child role reversal, and (d) parental marital conflict. In the view of Kenny and Donaldson, "The attachment figure provides a secure base of support that promotes active exploration and mastery of the environment and the development of social and intellectual competence" (p. 480). Using canonical correlation, these authors extracted two canonical variates, one highly correlated with psychological symptomatology and the other with social competence. Although this study was conducted on young adults adjusting to college, the findings logically extend to grandchildren and grandparents' experience of divorce. Hence, in addition to attachment theory, structural family theory appears to be a relevant theoretical perspective from which to view the process of divorce in a three-generational family system.

In addition to being related to psychological symptomatology and interpersonal competence, Lopez, Campbell, and Watkins (1988) found that psychological separation was reliably related to family structure. More specifically, marital conflict, parent-child overinvolvement, role reversals, and fear of separation were related to a pattern of separation characterized by conflictual dependence, lending support to structural family theory, in which it is predicted that young men and women from families demonstrating

high levels of marital conflict and other dysfunctional family interactions would have difficulty effectively separating from their families. Applied to divorcing families, it could be predicted that youth would have difficulty renegotiating attachment relationships following the divorce. As an example, one such problem could be conflict between parents regarding visitation and expectations of the child's conduct. Here (Lopez et al., 1988) we have another indication that attachment and family structure theories are compatible with one another.

In what way do these attachments develop, and how would important attachments to family members be expected to demonstrate themselves in a three-generation context following divorce? Current attachment theory proposes that "the relationships an individual has during infancy, childhood, and adolescence give rise to 'mental models' of both self and others that influence patterns of support-proximity seeking *and* support giving in adult relationships" (Simpson, Rholes, & Nelligan, 1992, p. 434). Therefore, early relationships are presumed to exert long-term impact on subsequent relationships by affecting the nature and development of these mental models" (Simpson et al., 1992, p. 434).

Simpson et al. (1992) collected data from 83 dating couples to explore whether and how attachment styles moderate support seeking and support giving in romantic couples given one member's exposure to an anxiety-provoking experience. Consistent with attachment theory, these researchers predicted that individuals with different attachment styles should differ markedly in situations that foster anxiety. They discovered that secure women tended to seek out more support as their level of anxiety increased. Furthermore, more secure men tended to offer more support as their partners

displayed greater anxiety. Avoidant women tended to seek less support with increasing anxiety, and more avoidant men were less inclined to provide support.

It appears that these findings can be applied to the current study. Divorce, naturally, is an anxiety-provoking experience. Given the research of Simpson et al. (1992), under such circumstances, it would be predicted that securely attached grandchildren would seek emotional support from their grandparents, and securely attached grandparents would be more inclined to provide such support. Indeed, Thompson and Lamb (1986) have posited that it is now assumed that attachment processes operate throughout the life span. The grandparent-grandchild relationship would of course be mediated by the quality of the relationship between the grandparents and their divorcing children; however, attachment styles would appear to come in play here as well, as the findings of van IJzendoorn (1995) indicate that attachment styles tend to persist through two and even three generations (Benoit & Parker, 1994). It could be argued that the findings of Simpson et al. (1992) might not generalize to other relationships than dating relationships. However, Crowell and Feldman (1988) and Belsky, Rovine, and Taylor (1984) have reported similar findings between mothers and children. In this light, it is less of a leap to consider that a similar process may occur between grandparents and grandchildren.

Taken together, divorce appears to be a very stressful life event, particularly for the divorcing parents and their children, but in addition reverberates throughout an intergenerational family system. Attachment relationships appear to take on particular significance throughout the lifespan during times of crisis as the work of Bliwise (1992), Simpson et al. (1992), and Mikulincer, Floriam, and Tolmacz (1990) attests. Therefore, it

appears that attachment theory is ideal for discussing implications of divorce from an intergenerational perspective. As Drew, Richard, and Smith (1998) purport:

> One of the clearest roles for grandparents seems to be manifested in times of family discord, and specifically when parents divorce; this is to act as a source of stability and continuity through a period when their grandchildren may be experiencing uncertainty and distress in their relations with parents (p. 474).

However, little work in this area has been done to this point. The majority of the literature applying attachment theory to divorce has focused on the implications of divorce for future intimate relationships of the children of the divorcing parents (Brennan & Shaver, 1993; Ensign, Scherman, & Clark, 1998; Hayashi & Strickland, 1998; Hazelton, Lancee, & O'Neil, 1998; Taylor, Parker, & Roy, 1995) or on the attachment of the divorcing couple (cf. Birnbaum, Orr, Mikulincer, & Florian, 1997).

It is quite possible that one of the family relationships that may mitigate some of the negative consequences of divorce is the child's relationship with their grandparents. Hetherington (1989) did not find this to be the case in her longitudinal study of children of divorce. However, her research was conducted approximately 10 years ago. It is possible, given the current trend of grandparents becoming more actively involved in parenting, that a cohort shift may have occurred in which relationships with grandparents may have more impact at the present time than they did ten years ago.

In addition, it can be presumed that the transition to divorce will also be difficult for the parents of those divorcing (i.e., the grandparents of the children of divorce). The difficulty of this transition to grandparents can be viewed in light of Carstenson's (1992) work on social convoys among the aged. Therefore, having a mutually supportive

relationship with a grandchild may ease the transition to divorce for the parents of the divorcing couple. It is the aim of the current study to investigate the impact of divorce on youth within a three-generational context, paying special attention to the bidirectional influence between grandparents and grandchildren. Previous research on children and divorce has for the most part ignored the role that grandparents can play in this transition.

Divorce and Grandparenting

The extent to which grandparents may mitigate some of the negative consequences in the lives of children of divorce must be also viewed in light of what is known about grandparenting in general. Grandparenthood has been defined as a countertransition in that it is produced by life changes of others (Hagestad, 1988). Individuals have no control over the timing of their becoming grandparents, geographical proximity to their grandchildren, or control over the parenting style of the middle generation (Emick & Hayslip, 1996). Intergenerational "verticalization" along with changes in the family introduced by such phenomena as divorce has thrust grandparents into unconventional caregiving roles such as temporary or permanent child-care responsibility, in addition to the traditional roles of providing emotional and instrumental support to the middle generation. Therefore, grandparents have materialized as both the symbolic and instrumental safeguards of the succeeding generation during times of strain or reorganization (Raphael, 1988; Thomas, 1990).

There is a lack of normative expectations about appropriate grandparental behavior, and therefore, being a grandparent is largely an individual experience (Shore & Hayslip, 1994). Positive relationships with grandchildren contribute to the way in which grandparents perceive their role (Johnson, 1988). Grandparents that derive the most

satisfaction from their role tend to be female, married, express positive feelings toward their grandchild, view their relationship with their grandchild as important, and express greater caretaking responsibility (Thomas, Bence, & Meyer, 1988). In addition, the relationship between the grandparent and adult child is an important mediator between the relationship between the grandparent and grandchild in that the adult children can control the contact between grandparents and grandchildren (Thomas, 1989; Thomas et al., 1988). This is especially the case when the relationship between the grandparent and adult child is conflictual (Thomas, 1990).

Younger grandparents tend to be more diverse in their grandparenting styles and may be unprepared to deal with their new roles (Emick & Hayslip, 1996). The experience of younger grandparents may be complicated by them having to tend to the needs of their aging parents and their own children, as well as their grandchildren (Hagestad, 1988). The age of the grandchild also appears to be an important factor. Cherlin and Furstenburg (1986) found that grandparents tend to be more satisfied with their relationships with younger grandchildren (i.e., birth to adolescence), as they felt more comfortable being openly affectionate with younger grandchildren.

Gender and kinship status also appear to be important influences of grandparental style. Kahana and Kahana (1970) report that maternal grandmothers and paternal grandfathers tended to manifest the most closeness and warmth to their grandchildren, whereas maternal grandfathers and paternal grandmothers expressed the most negative attitudes toward their grandchildren. Thomas (1986, 1989) found grandmothers to be more satisfied with their role than grandfathers. Grandfathers that reported more satisfaction with grandparenting tended to be older, have active relationships with their

grandchildren, and were happy with child rearing. Ethnicity may also interact with grandparent gender. Kivett (1991) found that the grandfather role was more central to black males than white males. In addition, the older black grandfathers tended to approach grandparenting in more affectionate than functional terms.

As grandparent-grandchild relationships are based on bidirectional interactions, the attitudes of grandchildren toward their grandparents are an integral component of the quality of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. Kennedy (1990) reported that college students' on the average had positive perceptions of and respect for their grandparents. In general, children perceive themselves to be emotionally closer and to be more influenced by their grandmothers than grandfathers (Roberto & Stroes, 1992). Shore and Hayslip (1988) investigated young grandchildren's perceptions of their grandparents and found that the child's relationship with his/her mother was critical to the child's views of their grandparents, a finding also demonstrated by King & Thomas (1989). In terms of grandparental styles, Cherlin and Furstenberg (1986) found that companionette and involved relational styles predicted grandparent-grandchild relationship quality. Among adult grandchildren, King and Thomas (1989) found that perceived emotional closeness was associated with the view of grandmothers as role models. Frequency of contact and residential proximity (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986) and the quality of the parent-grandparent relationship (Johnson, 1983a; Matthews & Sprey, 1985) were also found to be associated with positive attitudes toward grandparents.

In summary, the extent to which grandparents will become involved in the transition to divorce is influenced by several factors that can be gleaned from grandparenting research in general. Kinship position, gender, geographic proximity, and

frequency of contact are three of the most salient factors, with maternal grandparents most likely involving themselves to a greater extent than other grandparents. Geographic proximity and frequency of contact would tend to influence the extent of involvement in obvious ways, with those grandparents living closer to their grandchildren and those that had more contact with their grandchildren prior to the divorce involving themselves to a greater extent than those that had less contact previous to the divorce or those that live far enough away as to prevent consistent contact.

The age of both grandparents and grandchildren would also be expected to play a role. On the one hand, since younger grandparents may be unprepared for their role due to an "off-time" developmental transition and tend to have more role strain, in some cases having to care for their own aging parents, one possible outcome would be that these younger grandparents may be less inclined to become involved. However, as grandparents tend to have more emotional investment in younger grandchildren, this may offset some of the stress in becoming involved in a difficult situation despite having a higher role strain than older grandparents. In addition, as grandparents age, they are more likely to encounter health problems, thereby being less able to provide social support and being less accessible to their grandchildren. In addition, as predicted by socioemotional selectivity theory (Carstenson, 1992) as grandparents age, they are more likely to be more selective about the affiliation of their emotional energy. Therefore, given this evidence, age may have a curvilinear influence on the extent to which they would be expected to involve themselves in the transition to divorce, with grandparents that have maintained good health and outward focus but do not have other children still living at home or need

to care for their aging parents being the most likely to become involved in their grandchildren's lives.

It is expected that grandparents will likely have their own reactions to the divorce of their children. Research into the impact of divorce on children is fairly extensive; however, what is less understood is the impact of divorce on grandparents. This issue is discussed by Drew and Smith (1999). These researchers investigated the grandparent-grandchild relationship in terms of proximity, contact frequency, and emotional involvement. In addition, they investigated the grandparents' role in the loss of contact with their grandchildren, whether the grandparents contributed to the resulting loss or if they were victims of the situation.

Drew and Smith (1999) collected data from 86 grandparents and formed two groups, 34 of whose grandchildren had been involved in parental divorce. The other group of 52 was composed of some grandparents whose grandchildren had been involved in parental divorce and others who had not. The authors do not give information on how many of these 52 had experienced divorce. These researchers found that over time, all grandparents experienced a decrease in proximity to, contact with, and emotional closeness with their grandchildren. The two groups did not differ from one another on these three dependent variables. However, they found an interaction between group and time in which grandparents in the combined group demonstrated a greater drop in emotional closeness over time, than those in the group in which all grandparents had grandchildren affected by divorce. This interaction may have arisen due to the unbalanced design (52 vs. 36 grandparents), but the researchers do not discuss this issue further. In addition, the researchers compared kinship status (i.e., maternal vs. paternal

grandparents) and found that maternal grandparents reported living closer to their grandchildren than paternal grandparents.

In terms of the consequences of the divorce to the grandparents, 79% indicated that their health had been adversely affected by the divorce. Of these, 84% indicated emotional problems, 11.3% physical, and 4.8% both emotional and physical. Myers and Perrin (1993) indicate that grandparents denied access to their grandchildren as a result of divorce may experience difficulty in resolving their own developmental issues, may experience dissatisfaction with their lives, or may feel that part of themselves are missing or incomplete. This may especially be the case when the grandparents are more invested in the grandparental role and see their grandchildren more frequently than average prior to divorce.

This research has interesting implications; however, by combining the groups as they did, the researchers injected a random effect into the design that they did not attempt to explore. It is highly likely that the grandparents that had experienced divorce in the combined group were more alike than those that had not. Furthermore, the sample appears to be representative of grandparents that are likely dissatisfied with their relationships with their grandchildren, and the results may not generalize to grandparents in general. Therefore, the results from this study should be interpreted with caution. However, on a positive note, this study involves more intergenerational relationship dynamics than other studies to date.

Another potential consequence of divorce to grandparents is custodial grandparenting. Increasingly, grandparents are being called to function in nontraditional caregiving roles, in many cases due to the divorce of their adult children. The more

behavior problems displayed by a child, the more often grandparents are turned to for assistance, particularly in families managed by divorced females and/or single but never married mothers (Hetherington, 1989; Burton, 1992; Minkler, Roe, & Price, 1992). Custodial grandparents often report distress about their relationship with their grandchildren's parents, as well as the consequences of their own incapacitation or death. They frequently report concern over legal custody, as grandparental rights afforded by the legal system are restricted and sometimes quite obscure. Custodial grandparents have rarely won battles for permanent custody contested by parents (Derdeyn, 1985; Herman, 1990; Wilson & DeShane, 1982). The clearer the custody standing in favor of permanent custody placement with the grandparents, the less apprehension and contention with the natural parent that is reported (Kennedy & Keeney, 1988). Whether the adult child has custody seems to be pivotal in the influence of divorce on grandparent well being and relationships with grandchildren (Jaskowski & Dellasega, 1993; Myers & Perrin, 1993). Not surprising, if the child remarries, contact with one's grandchildren is diminished (Gladstone, 1991).

Matthews & Sprey (1984) present some of the earliest research specifically addressing divorce and grandparenting, collecting data in 1979. These researchers criticize the research on grandparenting conducted to that point for focusing on individuals as opposed to viewing grandparenthood as a relationship existing between persons embedded in a kinship system. They contend that viewing grandparents from an individualistic approach tended to homogenize stereotypes that exist about grandparents by removing them from the context of their extended family systems. As a result, they focused their research on grandparenting and divorce, as divorce is an unsettling event

that impacts relationships between grandparents and their children, former children-in-law, and grandchildren.

Matthews and Sprey (1984) interviewed 37 grandparent couples in their homes, 18 with at least one divorced child, and 19 with no divorced children. In addition to interviewing the grandparents on the grandparent-grandchild relationship, they also questioned them regarding their relationship with their children, since the grandparent-grandchild relationship is mediated by the grandchildren's parents (Robertson, 1975). Most of the grandparents were poorly prepared for the divorce. Only 22% were aware of the divorce before it was finalized.

Of those that lost contact with their former in-law children, placing exclusive blame on their former child in-law appeared to play a decisive role in them losing contact. Offering help and emotional support and remaining nonjudgmental toward the divorce were helpful in maintaining contact. Maternal grandparents appeared to be in a much better position to maintain their relationships with their former in-law children. Matthews and Sprey (1984) conclude that the relationship of the custodial parent to the grandparents was found to be perhaps the most important element in the restructuring of family bonds. However, the age of grandparents and grandchildren and the geographic proximity of grandparents to grandchildren were also very important determinants of the grandparent-grandchild relationship post divorce.

Perhaps the most comprehensive work on the topic of grandparenting and divorce has been conducted by Johnson and her colleagues (1983a, 1983b, 1985, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1988d, 1989a, 1989b, 1992, 1994; Johnson & Barer, 1987; Johnson, Klee, & Schmidt, 1988). This research followed the transition of divorce for 50 white, mostly

middle-class suburban families in Northern California. The grandparents and divorcing children were interviewed three times over five years, and both maternal and parental sides of the intergenerational family system were followed over time. Prior to discussing the findings of Johnson's research, I will first discuss her theoretical perspective on divorce and grandparenting.

As opposed to focusing on nuclear families in isolation, Johnson (1998) conceptualizes divorce as occurring in a kinship system, with the effects of the divorce reverberating throughout the system. Since an entire kinship system is affected, few grandparents will remain unaffected by the changes in family structure, and the position of the grandparents cannot be understood apart from the structural changes that take place. Culturally, the definition of a household is equated with that of the nuclear family, with households being formed upon marriage. When divorce occurs, the household is no longer synonymous with the family. Typically, during the divorce transition, contacts with custodial grandparents increase, while those with noncustodial grandparents decrease (Gladstone, 1988; Hilton & Macari, 1997; Spicer & Hampe, 1975). (In this case, custodial grandparents are defined as the parents of the custodial parent, and the noncustodial grandparents as the parents of the noncustodial parent).

Johnson (1998) discusses three common patterns of kinship reorientation that occur as a result of divorce: (a) matrifocal bias, (b) matrifocal in-law linkages, and (c) kinship group expansion. The former two patterns are of theoretical importance to the current study and will be discussed in detail. The typical pattern following divorce in today's society is for mothers to receive custody of children (Johnson, 1998). Furthermore, women generally have more to lose, both economically and socially,

following divorce; therefore, they have a greater stake in preserving and strengthening the ties with their parents. As a result, maternal grandmothers tend to become more active members of the kinship system than paternal grandparents. Hilton & Macari (1997) has helped to clarify the confound between gender and custody status by demonstrating that custody status, rather than gender, is the more salient variable in determining which grandparents will become more activated by the divorce. However, the term matrifocal bias was used in this review to stay consistent with Johnson's (1998) terminology.

Also of importance to the current study, is the pattern of female in-law links. It may be quite difficult for noncustodial parents (usually paternal) to maintain contact with their grandchildren, as this relationship will be mediated by the grandchild's biological parent. In conflictual relationships, there may be no direct access for the noncustodial grandparent to the grandchild. Therefore, these grandparents are reliant on someone who is no longer legally related to them to see their grandchild. Many noncustodial grandparents will therefore attempt to maintain a relationship with their former child-in-law to maintain a continuing relationship with their grandchild. In some cases, the noncustodial grandparents may want to compensate for the parental inadequacies of their child. Duran-Aydintug (1991) presents findings that suggest that this ex-in-law relationship was maintained only if the relationship was friend-like prior to divorce.

The middle generation of parents typically function as mediators of the grandparent-grandchild relationship in terms of both quality and quantity. Generally, if a parent has a close relationship with their own parent(s), then their children will likely have a close relationship (Hodgson, 1992; Kennedy, 1992), although the age of the grandparents and grandchildren also comes into play (Sprey & Matthews, 1982). In

divorce, intergenerational relationships typically become much more strained (Umberson, 1992). Johnson (1998) infers that the significance of grandparents during the divorce process may be grounded in maintaining family continuity as opposed to the quality of their interactions with their children and grandchildren. The history of the grandparent-adult child relationship also appears to play an important role, as interactional patterns that existed prior to the divorce tended to be maintained following the divorce (Johnson, 1988).

Emick and Hayslip (1996) discuss the fact that increasingly grandparental relationships tend to be individualized, as grandparental roles tend to be tenuous. This appears to be even more the case with divorce, as divorce also lacks normative role guidelines (Johnson, 1998). As a result, diversity is the norm for intergenerational relationships experiencing divorce (Troll, 1980). However, in general, grandmothers tend to be more active with grandchildren than grandfathers, younger grandparents and grandchildren tend to be more active than older ones, and maternal grandmothers tend to be more active than paternal grandparents (Clingempeel, Colyar, Brand, & Hetherington, 1992; Kivett, 1991). These patterns tend to continue with divorce (Johnson, 1998). Divorced daughters tend to have more contact (and receive more aid) with their parents than divorced sons (Johnson, 1988d); late adolescents have been found to report being closer to maternal grandparents than paternal grandparents following divorce (Matthews & Sprey, 1984); and maternal grandmothers report more contact and involvement with their grandchildren following divorce, whereas maternal and paternal grandparents reported similar amounts of contact prior to divorce (Cherlin & Furstenburg, 1986).

Johnson (1998) discusses several constraints to grandparental involvement during the divorce process. As mentioned above, the vagueness of normative role behavior is one such constraint (Bengtson, 1985; Troll, 1980). The ambiguity of the grandparent role may be accentuated by such features as grandparenting styles (Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964; Robertson, 1995) and the subjective meaning that grandparents attach to the significance of their role as grandparents (Kivnick, 1982; Henderson, Hayslip, and Shore, submitted). Johnson (1998) describes most grandparents in her sample as being "close" to their children but "intimate at a distance" to their child's family preceding divorce. Some of her grandparents preferred to preserve this distance following the divorce as well.

A second constraint to grandparental involvement in divorce involves a systemic process in which the divorcing parents become distracted by the immediate emotional turmoil surrounding the divorce and therefore fail to mediate between grandparents and grandchildren. According to Johnson (1998), many grandparents were unwilling to step and get involved without the invitation of their children and thereby found it difficult to determine who was responsible for deciding how they should help their children and grandchildren (Johnson, 1998).

Another constraint is the competing priorities of the grandparents. Due to advances in health care, grandparents are much more likely to remain healthy for a longer period of the lifespan, and thus are able to assume more responsibilities and activities in their later years (Emick & Hayslip, 1996). Furthermore, given the increasing numbers of grandparents assuming responsibility of their grandchildren (Emick & Hayslip, 1996; Hayslip et al., 1998). Although the number of grandparents assuming responsibility for their grandchildren is increasing, Johnson (1988d) found that the grandparents rarely

viewed this arrangement as permanent. They saw themselves as filling a temporary role to ease the immediate tension in their child's and grandchild's lives and tended to be uncomfortable with discipline.

Whether or not grandparents have the capacity to meet the needs of their grandchildren is influenced by several factors. Geographic proximity appears to be particularly important (Matthews & Sprey, 1984), as are the age of the grandparents and grandchildren, with middle-aged grandparents being more likely to become involved, and with grandparents being more likely to become involved with younger grandchildren (Denham & Smith, 1989, Johnson, 1985; Kivett, 1991; Sprey & Matthews, 1982). Two variables that have a strong degree of influence on determining the extent that grandparents will become involved are the custody status of the grandchild and the relationship between the grandparents and their divorcing children. Clearly the relationship between the divorcing parents and grandparents will in a large part determine the role that grandparents will play in the transition to divorce. This will particularly be the case for noncustodial grandparents. Grandparents' attitudes to the divorce and the extent to which they assign blame to one or the other of the divorcing partners appear to have particular importance in influencing the quality of the grandparent-parent relationship following divorce (Matthews & Sprey, 1984). In addition, the extent to which the grandparents provide help and emotional support in the aftermath of divorce positively impacts the quality of the grandparent-parent relationship. In terms of custody status, maternal grandparents will be the most likely persons in the kinship network to become involved in the lives of their grandchildren. This is primarily due to two reasons. The first is the high probability that mothers will receive custody of children following

divorce. Secondly, women tend to have more at stake economically and socially in losing contact with their parents following divorce; therefore, women have demonstrated higher motivation in maintaining their relationship with their parents following divorce. Johnson and her colleagues (1983a, 1985, 1988c, 1988d; Johnson & Barer, 1987) have found that most grandparents tend to extend assistance to their children during divorce. They found that 75% of grandparents had weekly contact with their grandchildren following divorce. Although they had more contact with their children than their grandchildren, most helped both generations extensively, particularly in the period immediately following divorce (Johnson, 1998).

In terms of the constraints introduced by Johnson (1998), role ambiguity, concern with acting without invitation, and facing competing priorities, attachment theory would predict that the stress inherent in a divorce would interact with the attachment style of the participants to determine the extent of grandparental involvement. Despite competing priorities and role ambiguity, grandparents with secure attachment styles would avail themselves to the aid of their children and grandchildren. In addition, those with secure attachment styles in the middle generation would be more likely to request help. Summarizing the role that grandparents can play in the divorce process, Johnson (1998) states that "they intervene in emergencies, and in normal times, they are there, not just as symbolic figures, but as an important latent family resource" (p. 198).

CHAPTER III

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Participants

The population for the current study consisted of 964 volunteers between the ages of 12 and 20 from single-parent, divorced homes living with a parent. Subjects were recruited from local schools, Texas Academy of Mathematics and Science (TAMS) students, and from psychology classes at the University of North Texas. Participants in the current study were primarily Caucasian (71.2%) and female (70.5%, male 29.5%). Roughly 10 percent were African-American, 9% were Hispanic, 6.2% were Asian, and 3.9% reported being from other ethnicities. The average age of the participants was 17.73 (sd=2.13).

Concerning parental marital status, 66.9% (N=404) reported that their parents were married. Of those whose parents were not married, 78.2% (N=158) reported that their parents were divorced, 6.9% (N=14) reported that a parent had died, and 14.9% (N=30) reported that their parents were separated for other reasons. Of those whose parents had divorced, 10.49 (sd=5.04) was the average number of years since the divorce occurred. Approximately 63% reported that they saw the parent with whom they did not live less than once per month. For the most part, participants reported having more telephone contact with their noncustodial parent, with 28.2% reported that they talked with their noncustodial parents at least once per week, 27% reported phone contact at least once per month, and 37.4% reported having phone contact less than once per month.

About half of the parents who had separated had remarried, as subjects reported that 50.8% of their mothers and 54.9% of their fathers had remarried. Seventy-seven percent of participants reported that their maternal grandmothers were living, 52.2% reported that their maternal grandfathers were living, 71.7% reported that their paternal grandmothers were living, and 36.9% reported that their paternal grandfathers were living.

Materials

Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA). The IPPA (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; see Appendix A) is a 53-item self-report inventory of parent and peer attachment for adolescents and young adults. Twenty-eight items address attachment to parents, and 23 items address attachment to peers. It is theoretically based on the assumption that "as cognitive development proceeds, internalized versus actual parent attachment figures play an increasingly important role as a source of continuing psychological stability and well-being" (Lopez & Gover, 1993, p. 563). This instrument consists of subscales of trust, communication, and alienation for parents and peers. Since the attachment to parents dimension is most relevant to the current study, only these items will be employed. These items will be adapted to address attachment to grandparents rather than parents. Given that the vast majority of research suggests that grandparent contact following divorce is much higher for maternal grandparents (Johnson, 1998), participants will be asked to report attachment only to their maternal grandmothers.

The psychometric properties of the instrument have been solid. Armsden and Greenberg (1987) report alpha coefficients of .91, .91, and .86 for the Trust, Communication, and Alienation parent subscales respectively. The three-week test-retest

reliability was .93 for the parent measure (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). With respect to validity, Armsden and Greenberg (1987) found IPPA parent attachment scores to correlate significantly with reported levels of family support, conflict, and cohesiveness, and with the tendency to seek out parents in times of need. The parent attachment scores were also found to be significant predictors of self-esteem, life-satisfaction, depression and anxiety, and resentment and alienation. Lapsley, Rice, and FitzGerald (1990) have found parent and peer scores to be predictive of personal and social identity and college adjustment. Armsden, McCauley, Greenberg, Burke, & Mitchell (1990) found that less secure parental attachment has been related to depression, suicidal ideation, separation anxiety, and hopelessness in a young adolescent sample. For the current study, alpha coefficients ranged from .84 (alienation) to .90 (trust; communication, alpha=.87).

Extent of Grandparent Influence. The extent of grandparent influence will be assessed by a battery of measures ascertaining five dimensions of perceptions of grandparenting as discussed in Hayslip, Shore, and Henderson (in press; see Appendix A). The first dimension involves the extent to which the grandparent engages in parent-like behavior with the grandchild, such as giving advice on a variety of personal and vocational matters and meting out discipline. This dimension is defined by 8 Likert-type items. The second measures the degree to which the grandparent has regular contact with the grandchild, in terms of the extent to which the grandparent was present at family functions, or the frequency with which he or she interacted with the grandchild. This dimension was defined by 5 items. The third defines the extent to which the grandparent helps the parent raise the grandchild, and will be assessed by 6 items. The fourth measures the perceived degree of the grandparent's direct and positive influence on the

grandchild's life, in terms of making vocational or educational choices, influencing religious values, etc. This will be assessed by 10 questions. The fifth dimension, defined by 5 items, reflects the breadth of influence in the grandchild's family such as being emotionally available, being consulted on family decisions, having authority in the family, and resolving family conflicts. Alpha coefficients ranged from .77 to .92 with the exception of grandparental contact, which failed to exceed .50. For the current study, alpha coefficients ranged from .37 (contact) to .92 (influence; services, alpha=.75; sphere of influence, alpha=.80; parental role, alpha=.83). The low reliability of grandparental contact is presumable due to it being a two-item subscale. However, it was not employed in subsequent analyses due to low reliability. As with the IPPA, the participants will be asked to rate the extent of grandparent influence for their maternal grandmothers.

Relationship Competence Scale (RCS). The RCS (Carpenter, 1990; see Appendix A) is a 100 item-measure of two broad domains involving competence in interpersonal skills, initiation and enhancement. Initiation, which is composed of the scores from five subscales (assertiveness, dominance, instrumental competence, shyness, and social anxiety) is related to initiating relationships as well as actively utilizing such relationships when needed. Enhancement measures abilities that serve to maintain and enhance relationships and is composed of the intimacy, trust, interpersonal sensitivity, empathic concern, and perspective taking subscales. Internal consistency coefficients for the subscales range from .77 to .90. The internal consistency coefficients for the Initiation and Enhancement domains were .95 and .93 respectively. Test-retest reliabilities for the scales ranged from .61 to .84. For the current study, alpha coefficients ranged from .75 (trust) to .82 (sensitivity).

Given the attention span and motivation of the population from which participants will be sampled (adolescents 13-18), the length of the battery to be administered is a concern. Therefore, in the interest of making the battery a reasonable length, only some subscales of the RCS will be selected, the Assertiveness and the Dominance subscales of the Initiation factor, and the Interpersonal Sensitivity, Trust, and Altruism subscales of the Enhancement factor. These subscales were selected due to their strong correlations with the underlying factor as demonstrated by Carpenter (1990).

Self-efficacy Scale (SES). The Self-efficacy scale (Sherer et al., 1982; see Appendix A) is a 23-item scale of general self-efficacy. General self-efficacy emanates from Bandura's work on task-specific self-efficacy. These researchers posit that "an individual's past experiences with success and failure in a variety of situations should result in a general set of expectations that the individual carries into new situations" (Sherer et al., 1982, p. 664). This scale was originally divided into two distinct subscales, general self-efficacy and social self-efficacy. However, subsequent work by Woodruff and Cashman (1990) indicated that the general self-efficacy subscale could be divided into three subscales, general efficacy magnitude, strength, and competence, and that social self-efficacy could be divided into two subscales, competence and strength. Again in the interest of keeping the battery a reasonable length, only the general efficacy subscales will be employed in the current study. These subscales were selected due to being more psychometrically robust (Woodruff & Cashman, 1990) and due to the social self-efficacy subscales overlap with interpersonal competence.

Alpha coefficients for the general and social subscales as reported by Sherer et al. (1982) were .86 and .71 respectively; those reported by Woodruff and Cashman (1990)

were .84 and .69. Factor intercorrelations (for the five factor model) ranged from .107 to .443. Sherer et al. (1982) and Woodruff and Cashman (1990) have demonstrated moderate correlations between the Self-efficacy Scale and the Mastery Scale (Pearlin, Lieberman, Menaghan, & Mullan, 1981), the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965). In addition, Sherer et al. (1982) demonstrated small but significant correlations with the Rotter Internal-External Locus of Control Scale (Rotter, 1966). Sherer et al. (1982) found that the Self-efficacy Scale significantly predicted past performance in vocational and military success among subjects recruited in a VA hospital. Woodruff and Cashman found that the scale differentiated performance expectations in which subjects predicted their grades in a class. For the current study, alpha coefficients ranged from .66 (competence) to .82 (magnitude; strength, alpha=.78).

Hopkins Symptom Checklist (HSCL). The HSCL (Derogatis, Lipman, Rickels, Uhlenhuth, & Covi, 1974; see Appendix A) is a 58-item self-report symptom inventory using a 5-point anchored rating scale. It's items sample content representative of the symptoms reported by psychiatric outpatients and is scored on five underlying symptom dimensions: (a) somatization, (b) obsessive-compulsive, (c) interpersonal sensitivity, (d) anxiety, and (e) depression. Since it is anticipated that the participants will not be sampled from the clinical population, subscales will be selected on the basis of their relevance to nonclinical adolescents. It is anticipated that depression, anxiety, and somatization will occur more commonly than other symptoms within the population of participants from which we would potentially be drawing.

Derogatis et al. (1974) report alpha coefficients from .84 to .87 for individual HSCL subscale scores and one-week test-retest coefficients ranging from .64 to .80. A

series of studies (Derogatis, Lipman, Covi, & Rickels, 1971; Derogatis, Lipman, Covi, & Rickels, 1972) has established the factorial invariance of the five symptom dimensions as well as supporting the measure's construct validity (cf. Derogatis, Lipman, Covi, Rickels, & Ulenhuth, 1970; Rickels, Lipman, Garcia, & Fisher, 1972). Several studies have supported the criterion-related validity by demonstrating the sensitivity of this measure to a variety of treatment effects (see Derogatis et al., 1974 for a review). For the current study, alpha coefficients ranged from .85 (anxiety) to .89 (depression; somatization, alpha=.87).

Procedure

Subjects were recruited from three primary locations: (a) local school districts, (b) the Texas Academy of Mathematics and Science (TAMS), and (c) psychology classes at the University of North Texas. Subjects were asked to participate in a study of grandparent-grandchild relationships in divorced families. Parents of participants under age 18 first gave written consent prior to the recruitment of their children. In the case of local schools, principals were first contacted and logistics were arranged to gain access to the students. In most cases, the author made a brief announcement in classrooms and consent forms were distributed. Consent forms explained the following: (a) their participation in the study was voluntary, (b) the participants could drop out of the study at any time, (c) the confidentiality of the responses was maintained, and (d) anonymity was upheld. Students that returned a signed consent form were then provided with a questionnaire packet that contained the measures described below along with demographic questions. A contact person (typically a school counselor or assistant

principal) was established at each school and facilitated access to students and providing and receiving back the consent forms.

TAMS is a residential early-entrance college program housed at the University of North Texas for high school students precocious in math and science. They reside in a residence hall reserved for TAMS students. Prior to beginning the year, parents of TAMS students sign consent for research participation. In the case of these students, the author obtained permission from TAMS administration to distribute questionnaire packets to students directly in the TAMS residence hall. Finally, participants were recruited from psychology classes. In this case, the author obtained permission from the instructor to make a brief announcement at the beginning of class and questionnaire packets were distributed to students interested in participating in the current study.

Research participation is encouraged at the University of North Texas, and students are offered extra credit in psychology classes as compensation for the time the students put into research participation. In the case of students in local school districts and TAMS students, six drawings were held, the winners of which received $50 checks for their participation.

Statistical Methods

The data in the current study will be analyzed via structural equation modeling. Structural equation modeling (SEM) was selected due to the researcher's desire to examine relationships between latent variables such as attachment, grandparent influence, and interpersonal competence. It was apparent from conducting the literature review, that a plausible theory could be derived to hypothesize the ramifications of attachment to grandparents among youth with divorced parents. Figure 1 (see Appendix A) provides a

path diagram of the hypothesized model. In addition to the advantage that SEM offers for testing theories by allowing all relationships in the model to be tested simultaneously and taking into account direct and indirect effects, SEM also accounts for random measurement error.

Throughout the following analyses, information regarding grandparent attachment and influence will come exclusively from maternal grandmothers. There were three reasons for excluding other grandparents from the analyses. First, including other grandparents proved to be prohibitive from a data analytic standpoint, as participants had a various number of grandparents living and therefore, provided data on many different combinations of grandparents. Since an individual's relationship with their different grandparents could vary greatly from grandparent to grandparent, it was presumed that combining the information from the grandparents may not provide an accurate assessment of the participants' relationships with their grandparents. Second, previous research has shown that college students feel closer to their grandmothers (Kennedy, 1992) and that maternal grandmothers may be particularly influential (Spitze & Ward, 1998). Third, previous research has indicated that grandmothers live and remain healthy longer than grandfathers (Shore & Hayslip, 1994). This research has implications for the relationships that grandparents have with their grandchildren, as physical health would likely play a prominent role in grandparents' abilities and desires to maintain strong relationships with their grandchildren. Given the challenges to data analysis, and the results of previous research, it was thought that selecting the information pertaining to maternal grandparents would provide a feasible solution.

The latent independent variable in the current study is attachment to maternal grandmothers; indicators consist of the subscales of the IPPA, namely communication, trust, and alienation. Latent dependent variables consist of extent of maternal grandmother influence, psychological symptomatology, social competence, and self-efficacy. The indicators for extent of maternal grandmother influence consist of the dimensions of perceptions of grandparenting discussed by Hayslip, Shore, and Henderson (in press), namely the extent to which maternal grandmothers take on traditional parenting roles, the extent of contact with maternal grandmothers, the services provided by maternal grandmothers, the maternal grandmother's sphere of influence in the youth's life, and the extent of influence, the maternal grandmother has on the youth's life. The indicators for psychological symptomatology consist of the depression, anxiety, and somatization scales of the HSI. The indicators for social competence consist of the interpersonal sensitivity and trust subscales of the RCS. The indicators for self-efficacy consist of the three subscales of the General Self-efficacy factor of the Self-efficacy Scale identified by Woodruff and Cashman (1990), namely magnitude of self-efficacy, strength of self-efficacy, and the youth's perceptions of competence .

The hypotheses of the current study are addressed by assessing the direct effect of attachment to grandparents on psychological symptomatology, social competence, and self-efficacy, the direct effect of extent of grandparental influence on the above mentioned variables, and the indirect effect of attachment to grandparents through extent of grandparental influence on the same variables.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The working hypothesis of the current study is that attachment to grandparents may serve as a protective factor, insulating youth from divorced families from many of the negative effects associated with divorce identified in the divorce literature (cf. Hetherington, 1989; Wallerstein, 1987). Other hypotheses include (a) that youth from divorced families will report lower levels of interpersonal competence, self-efficacy, and higher levels of symptomatology than youth from intact families; (b) for the youth from divorced families, higher levels of attachment to maternal grandmothers will be associated with lower levels of symptomatology, and higher levels of social competence and self-efficacy; (c) the relationship of maternal grandmother attachment to symptomatology, social competence, and self-efficacy will be mediated by the extent of influence that the youth perceives that their maternal grandparents have on their lives.

To build the case that grandparents serve as a protective factor for youth from divorced families, a first step would be to determine if the participants from divorced families demonstrated more maladjustment than participants from intact families. To this end, a two-way MANCOVA, employing parent marital status and age (i.e., middle school and high school vs. college) as independent variables, and the subscales of the RCS, SES, and HSCL as dependent variables was first conducted. The extent of the participant's mother's contact with the participant's maternal grandmother via visitation or phone contact served as covariates in this analysis.

The remaining hypotheses were tested via structural equation modeling (SEM). The models tested involved a direct effect of grandparent attachment on interpersonal competence, self-efficacy, and self-reported symptomatology (which will be referred to as outcome variables), as well as the indirect effect of grandparent attachment through grandparent influence on the same outcome variables (see Figure 1, Appendix B). This model was first tested in the youth from divorced families. Subsequently, a multiple group model was run, comparing the data from the youth from divorced to the youth from intact families. Finally, a multiple group model comparing high school or younger aged to college-aged youth was conducted to determine if the relationships between grandparent influence and attachment and the outcome variables are the same for these two age groups. MANCOVAs were also employed to test differences between parent marital status and age on grandparent attachment and grandparent influence.

Prior to statistical analysis, due to the large number of subjects that would have been deleted as a result of missing data, missing values were imputed on a scale-by-scale basis using the missing value imputation program Amelia (Honaker, King, Scheve, & Singh, 1999). In order for values to be imputed, a given subject was required to have more than two-thirds of the questions on the scale in question answered. The data met the missing at random criteria recommended by King, Honaker, Joseph, & Scheve (1999) to proceed with missing value imputation.

The above mentioned 2x2 between subjects MANCOVA was performed on eight dependent variables: the sensitivity and trust subscales of the RCS; the magnitude, strength and competence subscales of the SES; and the anxiety, somatization, and depression subscales of the HSCL. Independent variables were parent marital status

(married and not married) and age (junior high/high school and college). Frequency of visitation and phone contact between the participants' mothers and grandmothers served as covariates. These particular covariates were selected due to the nature of the proposed structural equation models, which emphasized grandparent attachment; it was thought that the relationship quality between mother and maternal grandmother, (as estimated by frequency of contact) would have a large influence on the quality of attachment between participants and their maternal grandmothers. The purpose of the MANCOVA was to test the hypothesis that youth from divorced families would demonstrate higher levels of maladjustment than youth from intact families.

As shown in Table 1, results of the MANCOVA demonstrated a statistically significant age by parent marital status interaction, when adjusting for frequency of contact between participants' mothers and their maternal grandmothers ($F(8,613)=2.61$, $p=.008$, $eta^2=.033$). The main effect for age was also significant ($F(8,613)=3.35$, $p=.001$, $eta^2=.042$), but the main effect for parent marital status was not ($F(8,613)=1.61$, $p=.119$, $eta^2=.021$).

Table 1. MANCOVA Summary Table for Age and Parent Marital Status on Outcome Variables

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	p	Eta Squared
Visits with Maternal Grandmother (Covariate)	Wilks' Lambda	.987	1.01	8	613	.428	.013
Phone Contact with Maternal Grandmother (Covariate)	Wilks' Lambda	.981	1.45	8	613	.174	.019
Marital Status	Wilks' Lambda	.979	1.61	8	613	.119	.021
Age	Wilks' Lambda	.958	3.35	8	613	.001	.042

Age * Marital Status Interaction	Wilks' Lambda	.967	2.61	8	613	.008	.033

Analysis of univariate ANOVAs indicated that the age by parent marital status interaction was specific to the self-efficacy measures, with significant differences occurring for perceptions of competence ($F(1,620)=5.36$, $p=.021$, $eta^2=.009$; see Table 2). The magnitude of the participants' self-efficacy, while not statistically significant, demonstrated a trend that bore further examination through simple effects ($F(1,620)=2.3$, $p=.130$, $eta^2=.004$).

Table 2. Univariate ANCOVA Summary Table for Age and Parent Marital Status on Outcome Variables

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p	Eta Squared
Marital Status	Sensitivity	83.82	1	83.82	3.24	.072	.005
	Trust	13.06	1	13.06	.54	.463	.001
	Magnitude	64.14	1	64.14	4.70	.031	.008
	Strength	38.72	1	38.72	1.63	.202	.003
	Competence	51.14	1	51.14	6.37	.012	.010
	Somatization	252.31	1	252.31	3.73	.054	.006
	Depression	417.38	1	417.38	6.42	.012	.010
	Anxiety	138.95	1	138.95	7.15	.008	.011
Age	Sensitivity	152.95	1	152.95	5.91	.015	.009
	Trust	1.78	1	1.78	.07	.786	.000
	Magnitude	8.27	1	8.27	.61	.436	.001
	Strength	58.37	1	58.37	2.46	.117	.004
	Competence	13.14	1	13.13	1.64	.201	.003
	Somatization	174.78	1	174.78	2.58	.108	.004
	Depression	80.39	1	80.39	1.24	.267	.002
	Anxiety	149.73	1	149.73	7.71	.006	.012

Marital Status * Age Interaction	Sensitivity	18.54	1	18.54	.72	.398	.001
	Trust	5.26	1	5.26	.22	.641	.000
	Magnitude	31.40	1	31.40	2.30	.130	.004
	Strength	32.76	1	32.76	1.38	.240	.002
	Competence	43.02	1	43.02	5.36	.021	.009
	Somatization	42.45	1	42.45	.63	.429	.001
	Depression	19.04	1	19.04	.29	.589	.000
	Anxiety	0.004	1	0.004	.000	.989	.000
Error	Sensitivity	16048.98	620	25.89			
	Trust	15001.52	620	24.20			
	Magnitude	8459.08	620	13.64			
	Strength	14713.35	620	23.73			
	Competence	4978.71	620	8.03			
	Somatization	41941.57	620	67.65			
	Depression	40317.20	620	65.03			
	Anxiety	12042.41	620	19.42			
Total	Sensitivity	614442	626				
	Trust	472998	626				
	Magnitude	224415	626				
	Strength	545122	626				
	Competence	146856	626				
	Somatization	978443	626				
	Depression	627581	626				
	Anxiety	274035	626				

As shown in Table 3, analysis of simple effects revealed that within the younger age group, perceptions of competence significantly differed depending on parental marital status ($F(1,132)=5.88$, $p=.017$, $eta^2=.043$), with participants from intact families

reporting more competence (Adj. M=15.4, sd=3.06) than those from divorced families (Adj. M=13.98, sd=3.16). Self-efficacy magnitude demonstrated a similar trend in this respect, though it did not achieve statistical significance ($F(1,132)=3.11$, $p=.08$, $eta^2=.023$). Analysis of simple effects within the college students demonstrated no significant differences or trends (see Table 3).

Table 3. Adjusted Means and Standard Deviations for Outcome Variables Displayed by Age and Parent Marital Status

		Age Category	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Interpersonal Sensitivity	Married	Jr. High and High School	30.44	5.59	90
		College	31.28	4.79	339
	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	29.05	4.77	45
		College	30.78	5.62	152
Interpersonal Trust	Married	Jr. High and High School	26.90	5.13	90
		College	27.28	4.77	339
	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	26.76	4.70	45
		College	26.66	5.21	152
Self –Efficacy Magnitude	Married	Jr. High and High School	18.95	4.34	90
		College	18.67	3.47	339
	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	17.54	4.07	45
		College	18.42	3.63	152
Self-Efficacy Strength	Married	Jr. High and High School	29.56	5.16	90
		College	29.36	4.78	339
	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	29.51	4.78	45
		College	28.12	4.92	152
Self-Efficacy Competence	Married	Jr. High and High School	15.40	3.08	90
		College	15.10	2.70	339
	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	13.98	3.16	45
		College	15.04	2.86	152

Somatization	Married	Jr. High and High School	37.69	9.99	90
		College	39.74	7.40	339
	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	36.72	8.59	45
		College	37.42	8.72	152
Depression	Married	Jr. High and High School	30.26	9.30	90
		College	31.64	7.35	339
	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	28.59	8.83	45
		College	29.07	8.66	152
Anxiety	Married	Jr. High and High School	19.83	5.19	90
		College	21.10	4.04	339
	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	18.61	5.14	45
		College	19.88	4.51	152

Results of the multivariate main effect for age revealed that the junior high and high school students differed from the college students in interpersonal sensitivity ($F(1,620)=5.91$, $p=.015$, $eta^2=.009$) and in reports of anxiety ($F(1,620)=7.71$, $p=.006$, $eta^2=.012$; see Table 2). Analysis of the means (see Table 3) indicated that college students reported having higher levels of interpersonal sensitivity (Adj. $M=31.03$, $sd=5.06$) than junior high/high school students (Adj. $M=29.74$, $sd=5.35$). College students also reported higher levels of anxiety (Adj. $M=20.48$, $sd=4.22$) than the younger students (Adj. $M=19.22$, $sd=5.19$). However, it must be stated that although the differences were statistically significant, the effect sizes were quite small, limiting the practical significance of the findings.

Exploratory MANCOVAs were also run using the subscales of the IPPA as dependent variables in one analysis and the scales measuring the extent of grandparent influence in a second analysis. The same independent variables (age and marital status)

IVs and covariates (frequency of contact) were employed in these exploratory analyses. As shown in Table 4, results of the MANCOVA employing the subscales of the IPPA as dependent variables demonstrated that the only multivariate differences were between the two age groups ($F(3,565)=3.41$, $p=.017$, $eta^2=.018$).

Table 4. MANCOVA Summary Table for Age and Parent Marital Status on Subscales of IPPA

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	p	Eta Squared
Visits with Maternal Grandmother (Covariate)	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.57	3	565	.635	.003
Phone Contact with Maternal Grandmother (Covariate)	Wilks' Lambda	.915	17.47	3	565	.000	.085
Marital Status	Wilks' Lambda	.989	2.16	3	565	.092	.011
Age	Wilks' Lambda	.982	3.41	3	565	.017	.018
Age * Marital Status Interaction	Wilks' Lambda	.995	.94	3	565	.419	.005

In terms of univariate differences, the two age groups differed in the ability to communicate with their maternal grandmothers ($F(1,567)=4.1$, $p=.043$, $eta^2=.007$), but not on trust of ($F(1,567)=.58$, $p=.446$, $eta^2=.001$) or alienation from ($F(1,567)=2.3$, $p=.13$, $eta^2=.004$) their maternal grandmothers (see Table 5).

Table 5. Univariate ANCOVA Summary Table for Age and Parent Marital Status on Subscales of IPPA

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p	Eta Squared
Marital Status	Trust	14.34	1	14.34	.265	.614	.000
	Communication	61.16	1	61.16	1.57	.211	.003
	Alienation	60.83	1	60.83	1.10	.296	.002

Age	Trust	32.78	1	32.78	.58	.446	.001
	Communication	159.79	1	159.79	4.10	.043	.007
	Alienation	127.99	1	127.99	2.30	.130	.004
Marital Status * Age Interaction	Trust	.21	1	.213	.004	.951	.000
	Communication	53.66	1	53.661	1.38	.241	.002
	Alienation	.088	1	.088	.002	.968	.000
Error	Trust	31904.58	567	56.27			
	Communication	22113.55	567	39.00			
	Alienation	31496.91	567	55.55			
Total	Trust	933741	573				
	Communication	418418	573				
	Alienation	725875	573				

As shown in Table 6, analysis of the means indicated that the junior high and high school students (Adj. M=27.26, sd=7.29) reported feeling more alienated from their grandparents than the college students (Adj. M=25.91, sd=8.10).

Table 6. Adjusted Means and Standard Deviations for Subscales of IPPA Displayed by Age and Parent Marital Status

		Age Category	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Trust	Married	Jr. High and High School	40.16	7.36	81
		College	39.49	8.02	310
	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	39.70	8.15	43
		College	39.14	7.69	139
Communication	Married	Jr. High and High School	26.45	6.92	81
		College	25.88	6.29	310

	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	28.08	6.54	43
		College	25.93	7.08	139
Alienation	Married	Jr. High and High School	34.02	9.03	81
		College	35.21	7.45	310
	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	33.15	6.94	43
		College	34.40	7.49	139

Finally, the result of the MANCOVA employing the scales of grandparent influence (as they pertain to maternal grandmothers) as dependent variables indicated a statistically significant age by parental marital status interaction ($F(5,571)=2.80$, $p=.017$, $eta^2=.024$; see Table 7). Main effects for parent marital status ($F(5,571)=5.15$, $p<.001$, $eta^2=.028$) and age ($F(5,571)=3.35$, $p=.005$, $eta^2=.028$) were also statistically significant.

Table 7. MANCOVA Summary Table for Age and Parent Marital Status on Grandparent Influence Subscales

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	p	Eta Squared
Visits with Maternal Grandmother (Covariate)	Wilks' Lambda	.998	.23	5	571	.949	.002
Phone Contact with Maternal Grandmother (Covariate)	Wilks' Lambda	.884	14.98	5	571	.000	.116
Marital Status	Wilks' Lambda	.957	5.15	5	571	.000	.043
Age	Wilks' Lambda	.972	3.34	5	571	.005	.028
Marital Status * Age Interaction	Wilks' Lambda	.976	2.80	5	571	.017	.024

As shown in Table 8, analysis of univariate tests revealed that the significant interaction was specific to the maternal grandmother's sphere of influence ($F(1,575)=7.12$, $p=.008$, $eta^2=.012$), with a trend in this same respect found regarding contact with maternal grandmothers ($F(1,575)=2.44$, $p=.119$, $eta^2=.004$).

Table 8. Univariate ANCOVA Summary Table for Age and Parent Marital Status on Grandparent Influence Subscales

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p	Eta Squared
Marital Status	Parental Role	5.73	1	5.73	.14	.710	.000
	Contact	5.42	1	5.42	1.11	.293	.002
	Services	49.74	1	49.74	3.15	.077	.005
	Sphere of Influence	375.73	1	375.73	17.45	.000	.029
	Influence	.33	1	.32	.01	.931	.000
Age	Parental Role	10.53	1	10.52	.25	.614	.000
	Contact	8.85	1	8.85	1.81	.179	.003
	Services	122.77	1	122.77	7.77	.005	.013
	Sphere of Influence	103.35	1	103.35	4.80	.029	.008
	Influence	333.18	1	333.18	7.57	.006	.013
Marital Status * Age Interaction	Parental Role	6.83	1	6.83	.17	.685	.000
	Contact	11.96	1	11.96	2.44	.119	.004
	Services	2.58	1	2.58	.16	.687	.000
	Sphere of Influence	153.34	1	153.34	7.12	.008	.012
	Influence	20.67	1	20.67	.47	.493	.001
Error	Parental Role	23802.73	575	41.40			
	Contact	2815.20	575	4.90			
	Services	9084.07	575	15.80			
	Sphere of Influence	12380.93	575	21.53			

	Influence	25295.11	575	43.99			
Total	Parental Role	251723	581				
	Contact	32180	581				
	Services	75025	581				
	Sphere of Influence	125347	581				
	Influence	722747	581				

As shown in Table 9, analysis of simple effects indicated that the younger students from divorced families reported that their grandmothers had a wider sphere of influence (Adj. M=16.5, sd=5.49) than those from intact families (Adj. M=13.14, sd=4.78).

Table 9. Adjusted Means and Standard Deviations on Grandparent Influence Subscales Displayed by Parental Marital Status

		Age Category	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Parental Role	Married	Jr. High and High School	19.62	6.96	87
		College	19.55	6.80	310
	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	20.15	6.80	44
		College	19.52	6.80	140
Contact	Married	Jr. High and High School	7.00	2.50	87
		College	7.05	2.38	310
	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	7.62	2.35	44
		College	6.94	1.92	140
Services	Married	Jr. High and High School	11.10	4.41	87
		College	10.10	3.96	310
	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	12.02	4.77	44
		College	10.68	4.20	140
Sphere of	Married	Jr. High and High School	13.14	4.78	87

Influence		College	13.37	4.90	310
	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	16.50	5.49	44
		College	14.11	4.99	140
Influence	Married	Jr. High and High School	36.32	6.61	87
		College	33.90	6.42	310
	Divorced	Jr. High and High School	35.90	9.19	44
		College	34.44	6.99	140

For age grouping, univariate tests indicated that the age groups differed in the extent that their maternal grandmothers provided services for them ($F(1,575)=7.77$, $p=.005$, $eta^2=.013$) and the influence they had in their lives ($F(1,575)=7.57$, $p=.006$, $eta^2=.013$), and the breadth of the sphere of influence ($F(1,575)=4.8$, $p=.029$, $eta^2=.008$). The younger participants reported that their maternal grandmothers provided more services for them (Adj. M=11.56, sd=4.54), were more influential to their lives (Adj. M=36.11, sd=7.54), and had a broader sphere of influence (Adj. M=14.82, sd=5.26) than the college students [services (Adj. M=10.39, sd=4.05); influence (Adj. M=34.17, sd=6.6; sphere (Adj. M=13.74, sd=4.94; see Table 9)].

In terms of parental marital status, the univariate tests indicated that the participants from intact families differed from those whose parents were not married in terms of the services the sphere of influence their maternal grandmothers had in their lives ($F(1,575)=17.45$, $p<.001$, $eta^2=.029$). Participants whose parents were not married reported that their maternal grandmothers had a wider sphere of influence in their lives (Adj. M=15.3, sd=5.17) than the participants from intact families (Adj. M=13.26, sd=4.87; see Table 9)].

The primary focus of the current study is to examine grandparent-grandchild attachment in youth from divorced families. Therefore in the first model tested, Figure 1 (see Appendix B) was applied exclusively to youth from divorced families. With a few modifications, allowing error covariances to covary, the data demonstrated a fairly good fit to the model ($\underline{X}^2(75)=348.53$, $\underline{p}<.001$, CFI=.938, GFI=.934, RMSEA=.074). However, the path coefficients from the latent variable, grandparent influence, to the outcome variables of interest (i.e., interpersonal competence, self-efficacy, and symptomatology) were fairly small, (symptomatology, beta=.035; self-efficacy, beta=.103; interpersonal competence, beta=.269; see Appendix B, Figure 2). The path coefficients from the latent variable, grandparent attachment, and the outcome variables were substantially larger than those associated with grandparent influence (interpersonal competence, beta=.407; self-efficacy, beta=.324; symptomatology, beta=.229). Furthermore, the path coefficient between the latent variables grandparent influence and grandparent attachment was very large (beta=.953), indicating an almost collinear relationship between these two latent variables. It was determined that since these latent variables were so highly correlated, eliminating one from the model would be advantageous. An analogous occurrence is multicollinearity observed in regression models, in which it is advised to eliminate one or more of the predictors in the model (cf. Tabachnick and Fidell, 1996).

Therefore, a second model was tested in which grandparent influence was eliminated from the model. The model was again tested exclusively with youth (aged under 21) from divorced families. The data fit this model well, and the fit statistics were improved over the previous model ($\underline{X}^2(38)=46.94$, $\underline{p}=.152$, CFI=.982, GFI=.932, RMSEA=.04). A X^2 difference test indicated that the model removing grandparent

influence represented a much better model fit than the model including grandparent influence ($X^2(37)=323.92$, $p<.001$). In addition, the path coefficients between grandparent attachment and the outcome variables were larger than the previous model (interpersonal competence, beta=.685; self-efficacy, beta=.666; symptomatology, beta=.602; see Appendix B, Figure 3).

The next model tested was a multiple group model, in which a model was fit for the participants from divorced families (identical to Figure 3) and subsequently, the same model was fit for the participants from intact families. The data fit the multiple group model fairly well ($X^2(101)=211.81$, $p<.001$, CFI=.955, GFI=.941, RMSEA=.066), and the path coefficients between grandparent attachment and the outcome variables were moderate (interpersonal competence, beta=.591; self-efficacy, beta=.494; symptomatology, beta=.467).

A model consisting of data exclusively from the participants from intact families was subsequently run in order to derive the path coefficients with which to compare the path coefficients of the participants from divorced families. This analysis confirmed the results of the multiple group analysis, as the data from the participants from intact families fit the model fairly well ($X^2(38)=127.65$, $p<.001$, CFI=.952, GFI=.944, RMSEA=.078). The path coefficients between grandparent attachment and the outcome variables were again moderately sized (interpersonal competence, beta=.573; self-efficacy, beta=.461; symptomatology, beta=.436; see Appendix B, Figure 4).

Tests of independent correlations were then conducted, in which the youth from divorced families were compared to those from intact families on the basis of the magnitude of the path coefficients between grandparent attachment and interpersonal

competence, self-efficacy, and symptomatology. One-tailed tests were employed, as the hypotheses are that the path coefficients are larger for the youth from divorced families than the youth from intact families. These tests indicated that the path coefficient between grandparent attachment and symptomatology was significantly larger for the participants from divorced families (z=2.22, p=.013). Similarly, the path coefficients between grandparent attachment and interpersonal competence (z=1.8, p=.036) and self-efficacy (z=1.63, p=.051) were also significantly larger, suggesting that attachment to maternal grandparents may have some protective influence for youth from divorced families. However, a more rigorous X^2 difference test, comparing the multiple group model discussed above (identical to Figure 3) in which the path coefficients were constrained to equality between groups to a multiple group model in which the path coefficients were allowed to vary, was not statistically significant ($X^2(3)=3.28$, $p>.05$).

A second multiple group model (identical to Figure 3) was conducted to test the equivalence of age groups (i.e., junior high and high school students vs. college students) on the relationships between grandparent attachment and the outcome variables of interest to the current study. That is, a model was simultaneously fit for the junior high and high school versus the college-aged students. The data fit the multiple group model well ($X^2(101)=255.11$, $p<.001$, CFI=.958, GFI=.953, RMSEA=.069), supporting the importance of grandparent attachment to interpersonal competence, self-efficacy, and symptomatology in both age groups. The path coefficients between grandparent attachment and these outcome variables were again of moderate size (interpersonal competence, beta=.598; self-efficacy, beta=.484; symptomatology, beta=.448).

A final structural equation model was run on data from youth from divorced families with maternal grandmother influence predicting levels of symptomatology, interpersonal competence, and self-efficacy. Since grandparent influence had previously been dropped from previous models involving maternal grandmother attachment, this model was run to determine if grandparent influence similarly predicted the outcome variables. As expected due to the high correlation between the latent variables maternal grandparent attachment and influence (see Appendix B, Figure 2), the data fit the model well ($X^2(49)=63.54$, $p=.079$, CFI=.974, GFI=.917, RMSEA=.05). Although the data fit the model well, the path coefficients between grandparent influence and the outcome variables were small but positive (interpersonal competence, beta=.296; self-efficacy, beta=.159; symptomatology, beta=.06; see Appendix B, Figure 5).

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The overriding working hypothesis presented in this study is that strong attachment to grandparents serves as a protective factor for youth from divorced families. However, to this end, several specific hypotheses were presented, namely:
(a) that youth from divorced families would report lower levels of interpersonal competence, self-efficacy, and higher levels of symptomatology than youth from intact families and (b) that higher levels of attachment to maternal grandmothers would be associated with lower levels of symptomatology, and higher levels of social competence and self-efficacy. It was also proposed that the influence of maternal grandmother attachment on symptomatology, social competence, and self-efficacy would be mediated by the extent of influence that the youth perceives that their maternal grandparents have on their lives.

These specific hypotheses were partially supported in the current study. Although youth from divorced families reported lower levels of perceived competence and magnitude of self-efficacy, the youth from divorced and intact homes did not differ in terms of reported symptomatology and interpersonal skills. Therefore, hypothesis one received only minimal support. A reasonable explanation for a failure to support this hypothesis is that for most participants, it had been a fairly long time since the divorce of their parents ($\underline{M}$=10.49, $\underline{sd}$=5.04). Hypothesis two was however, strongly supported. The structural equation model with grandparent attachment predicting symptomatology,

interpersonal competence, and social skills with the subjects from divorced families indicated good model fit, and the correlations between attachment and the outcome variables were strong and in the predicted direction. Therefore, practically speaking, for the divorced participants, grandparent attachment was strongly related to the outcome variables in question, with path coefficients ranging from .60 to .68. The hypothesis involving a mediational model, in which maternal grandmother attachment was mediated by maternal grandmother influence was not supported, as the latent variables attachment and influence were highly correlated, to the point of redundancy. Therefore, as attachment was more germane to the theoretical background of this project, influence was omitted from subsequent models.

Concerning the results of the multiple group analysis comparing participants from divorced to participants from intact families, two possible scenarios with different theoretical meanings arise from this analysis. Since the data from participants from divorced families fit the model well, failure of model fit for the multiple group analysis would lend credence to the argument that having a secure attachment to a grandparent serves as a protective factor for youth from divorced families, as it demonstrates the uniqueness of the relationship between grandparent attachment and psychological attachment in the case of parental divorce. However, as the results demonstrated good model fit, this would tend to detract from the hypothesis that attachment to grandparents serves as a protective factor for youth from divorced families, as the results suggest that the participants from divorced families do not differentially benefit from the relationship to their grandparents as compared to the participants from intact families. Instead, the

results from the current study indicate that grandparent attachment is beneficial to youth regardless of whether they come from intact or divorced homes.

However, although the results of the multiple group analysis do not support the argument of the uniqueness of grandparent attachment to youth from divorced families, a weaker argument can be made from the magnitude of the path coefficients between grandparent attachment and the outcome variables employed in the current study. Statistically significantly larger path coefficients among the youth from divorced families would indicate that although strong attachment to grandparents is beneficial to youth from both intact and divorced families, the youth from divorced families receive more benefit than those from intact families. The results of the current study support this argument, as for all three outcome variables in question (i.e., interpersonal competence, self-efficacy, and symptomatology), the strength of the relationship between attachment and the outcome variables was significantly stronger for the participants from divorced as compared to the participants from intact families. Therefore, the results suggest that all youth benefit from strong attachment to their maternal grandmothers, and that individuals from divorced families may differentially benefit as compared to individuals from intact families. These results lend support to the overarching hypothesis of the current study. However, these results must be tempered by the nonsignificant X^2 difference test comparing constrained to free path coefficients between grandparent attachment and the outcome variables. Furthermore, as a point of clarification, it should be stated that the results are consistent with a theory that proposes that attachment to grandparents serves as a protective factor for youth from divorced families rather than directly supporting this hypothesis. The current study did not control for variables that could alternatively explain

the current findings, such as the psychological adjustment of the participants' mothers or the absence of family conflict following the divorce.

Theoretical Considerations

The results of the current study suggest several theoretical questions. The first question that may be posed is why the youth from divorced families did not demonstrate more significant maladjustment than the youth from intact families. Previous research (cf. Amato & Keith, 1991; Hetherington, 1989; Hetherington, Bridges, & Insabella, 1998; Wallerstein, 1984, 1987; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1975) has consistently demonstrated that at least in the short term, a high percentage of children from divorced families demonstrate some form of maladjustment (e.g., problems with academic achievement, conduct, psychological symptomatology, social adjustment, self-concept, etc.). One possibility for a failure to find similar results in the current study is that the average length of time since the divorce is fairly high. Longitudinal studies have demonstrated that differences in psychological adjustment between children in intact and divorced families became less pronounced over time (Hetherington et al., 1982; Kurdek, Blisk, & Siesky, 1981; Parish & Wigle, 1985; Rickel & Langer, 1985). Furthermore, a recent meta-analysis (Amato & Keith, 1991) demonstrated that for conduct problems, the effect sizes of studies based on samples of children who experienced parental separation within the previous two years were significantly stronger than the effect sizes of studies based on samples of children who experienced parental separation more than two years ago.

In addition, the median effect size found by Amato and Keith (1991), collapsed over a variety of outcome measures was .14 of a standard deviation, which is fairly small. Therefore, it could be presumed that due to sampling error, some studies may not find

between group differences (i.e. between youth from divorced and intact families) demonstrated in other research studies. However, as emphasized by Rosenthal and Rosnow (1994), small effect sizes can also have a great deal of practical significance depending on the subject of study, and this point is also emphasized by Amato and Keith (1991) referring to the results of this meta-analysis. Furthermore, it should be stated that divorce occurs within a family context, and that maladjustment following divorce should be interpreted in light of the unique family context of the individual in question. As such, divorce itself is likely not the cause of maladjustment, but the pattern of family interactions preceding and following the divorce. Indeed, there may be many occasions in which youth may benefit from by the divorce of their parents.

Another theoretical question posed by the results of the current study is why the multiple group SEM relating attachment to maternal grandparents to the outcome variables in question failed to demonstrate distinct patterns of relationships between divorced and intact families. Two possible explanations are offered. First, families have changed a great deal over approximately the last 25 years. These changes have raised philosophical questions concerning the definition of the family in general. The overall trend has been a move away from a perceived norm of the traditional nuclear family to a more generalized family form, the kinship network (Johnson, 1998). It should be mentioned that the changes in the conception of the family have largely occurred among European Americans, as most “minority cultures” have generally maintained a wider, more inclusive view of the family (McGoldrick, Girodano, & Pearce, 1996).

These sociological changes have also involved a redefinition of the role of grandparent. Both the incidence and prevalence of custodial grandparenting are

increasing (Hayslip & Goldberg-Glen, 2000; Hirshorn, 1998). Typically, grandparents assume full time care responsibility for grandchildren in the presence of some type of family problem, be it divorce, incarceration, abuse, etc. (Casper & Bryson, 1998). However, the trend has been for many grandparents to become more involved in part time caregiving (Hirshorn, 1998), which may involve other sociological processes, such as more egalitarianism in the work place, more adults pursuing education as nontraditional students, etc. Such changes may contribute to a change in cultural worldview in which grandparents are more likely to consider becoming actively involved in the care of their grandchildren, even in the absence of family problems that have traditionally preceded their involvement. If so, a greater degree of involvement and influence in the lives of their grandchildren may translate into stronger grandparent-grandchild attachment. This is partially supported by the data from the current project, as maternal grandmother influence and maternal grandparent attachment, which I presumed to be different processes were almost collinear.

As grandparents have demonstrated a stronger desire or perceived responsibility to become more involved in the lives of their grandchildren, research on grandchildren's perceptions of grandparents has suggested that grandchildren have likewise wanted to have more involvement with their grandparents (Kennedy, 1992). This has particularly been the case for older adolescents and younger adults (Kennedy, 1990), which is pertinent to the current study, as the majority of the data were collected from this age group. A situation in which both grandparents and grandchildren desire more affiliation would presumably lead to stronger attachment with or without respect to clearly identified family problems. In addition, previous research has shown that adolescence

and early adulthood, particularly during the transition to college, is a time when many individuals are at risk for higher levels of symptomatology, and lower levels of self-efficacy and interpersonal competence (Lopez, Campbell, & Watkins, 1988). Stronger grandparent-grandchild attachment, coupled with higher likelihood for the development of symptomatology and problems with self-efficacy and interpersonal competence set the stage for a scenario in which youth, whether or not they come from divorced or intact families, benefit from strong attachment to their maternal grandmothers, which was demonstrated by the results of the current study.

Although the results of the current study did not demonstrate a uniqueness to maternal grandmother attachment for youth from divorced families in the most obvious sense (i.e., group differences in SEM), the results did demonstrate this uniqueness in a less obvious sense in that the relationship between maternal grandmother attachment and the outcome variables was stronger for the youth from divorced families. This result is consistent with a theory that proposes that strong grandparent-grandchild attachment serves as a protective factor for youth from divorced families. This result begs the question as to why grandchildren from divorced families would benefit more from strong attachment to their maternal grandmothers.

In the meta-analysis conducted by Amato and Keith (1991), the authors discuss three possible theoretical propositions explaining why divorce might have negative effects on children's lives: (a) parental absence, (b) economic disadvantage, and (c) family conflict. The parental absence hypothesis assumes that a two-parent family is a better environment for children's development than a single-parent family; therefore, from this perspective, children experience negative effects from divorce due to the fact

that one parent is now absent. The economic disadvantage perspective assumes that it is economic hardship, which arises from loss of income and decline in standard of living that occurs secondary to divorce, rather than family type that is responsible for the lowered well-being of children of divorce. The family conflict perspective assumes that it is the conflict between parents before and during the separation period that causes any negative effects facing children from divorced families rather than the divorce per se. Hetherington et al. (1998) discuss similar propositions: (a) individual risk and vulnerability, (b) family composition, (c) stress, including socioeconomic disadvantage, (d) parental distress, and (e) family process.

The results of Amato and Keith (1991) partially support the parental absence hypothesis; however, overall the data suggest that this is not the factor in children's reaction to divorce. Stronger support was demonstrated for the family conflict explanation. Similarly, Hetherington et al. (1998) propose a transactional model in which divorce and remarriage increase the probability of parents and children encountering a set of interrelated risks, prominent in which is family process variables (e.g., family conflict).

The question most pertinent to the current study is how the grandparent-grandchild relationship can make a difference. The results of Amato and Keith (1991) suggest that family conflict is the best explanation for youth's post-divorce adjustment. Similarly, Hetherington et al. (1998) discusses the importance of family process variables to children's post-divorce adjustment. Such variables include marital conflict, disrupted parenting, family disengagement, etc. In such cases, grandparents may be able to compensate for disrupted parenting and disengagement by offering social and

instrumental support to their grandchildren and their divorcing children. Therefore, by providing such support, grandparents may be able to serve as a buffer for youth as they negotiate the transition of the divorce of their parents.

Attachment theory provides another theoretical explanation for how the maternal grandmother-grandchild relationship made a difference for this study's participants. Attachment theory predicts that children under stress with secure attachments will seek and be given emotional support to help them master crises and stress. Applied to the current results, the theory suggests that those strongly attached to their maternal grandparents had a secure base with whom they could connect during the stress of the divorce of their parents. Therefore, it is likely that the participants from divorced families in the current study benefit from secure attachment to their maternal grandmothers by coping with stress more effectively than individuals who do not enjoy a strong relationship with their grandparents. Since many of the participants' parents may not have been as accessible to their children given circumstances such as increased family conflict during their divorces, it is likely that children in such circumstances would turn to other secure bases of attachment, such as their grandparents.

A final theoretical question posed by the results of the current study is the fact that the results from the current study contradict those found by Hetherington (1989). In sum, Hetherington's (1989) results suggest that though following parental divorce contact with grandparents increased, the impact of the grandparent-grandchild relationship to children's post-divorce was minimal unless the grandparent lived in the home. In keeping with these results, Hetherington (1989) characterizes grandparents as the parent's reserves when things go wrong. In some families, given previous research on the negative effects

facing children of divorce secondary to parental maladjustment (Hetherington, 1998), this is likely the case. Many of the participants in the current study likely benefited from a strong relationship with their maternal grandmothers because their own parents were incapable of meeting their needs due to internal (i.e., psychological maladjustment) or external stressors, in the words of Hetherington (1989) "something going wrong." However, given the low base rate of psychiatric disorders in the general population, this is likely not the case with the majority of the participants. A plausible explanation for this discrepancy can be found in historical changes in the meaning of grandparenthood (Hayslip, Henderson, & Shore, submitted). As mentioned previously, grandparents are becoming active adjuncts in the care of their grandchildren. In the case of divorce, once involved, grandparents can serve as a shield, protecting children from parental conflict and maladjustment, assisting with monetary resources, and providing support for single parents (cf. Amato & Keith, 1991).

A final point indicated by the results of the current study relates to the equal fit of the models across age groups. It might be proposed that as children grow older, the importance of being attached to a grandparent may lessen so that in stressful family transitions, the attachment to grandparents would not be as critical. The lessened importance of the grandparent to older grandchildren may be supported by literature that indicates that older adolescents/young adults are less involved with their grandparents, citing such reasons as grandparents getting older and having more health problems and therefore less available to maintain strong relationships with their grandchildren (Hayslip, et al., 2000). However, the participants in this study were by and large college-aged students, with 57% being between the ages of 18 through 21. Therefore, the findings

from the current study are theoretically meaningful, as though the participants tended to be older, the relationship between the attachment to maternal grandmothers and the outcome variables was strong.

Clinical Implications

The findings of the current study suggest modifications to traditional clinical practice. In typical divorce counseling, counselors will often work with either the divorced parents, attempting to assist the parents to work together for the best interest of the children (Minuchin, 1974; Minuchin & Fishman, 1981) or with single parents and their children, providing assistance with parenting skills, supportive counseling, etc. Since the results of the current study indicate that youth from divorced families with strong attachment to their maternal grandmothers report lower symptomatology and higher self-efficacy and interpersonal competence (factors which often instigate counseling for children from divorced families), the findings imply that including grandparents in post-divorce counseling may help reduce problems that initially bring divorced families to treatment. Including extended families in family therapy has been discussed extensively by Bowen (1978). However, many counselors not familiar with Bowen's work may not consider including grandparents in treatment.

Limitations

Although the results of the current project have theoretical and clinical value, there are several limitations to consider. Perhaps most prominent is the fact that the results are the results of a cross-sectional survey. This is problematic for several reasons, most obviously because the data cannot address the question of how the participants' adjustment varied over time. As Hetherington et al. (1998) state, "Static, cross-sectional

slices out of the lives of parents and children in divorced or remarried families give a misleading picture of how risk and protective factors combine to influence the adjustment of children" (p. 175). In addition, we cannot definitively address the issue of the participants' psychological functioning prior to the divorce. The participants from divorced families may have benefited more from their relationships with their maternal grandmothers more than those from divorced families prior to the divorce as well. This question can only be addressed by a prospective study.

A second limitation comes from the nature of the sample. The participants were volunteers from a sample of schools and one university in the local area. In addition, the sample was largely Caucasian, and tended to be older adolescents who were not currently living with their parents. Therefore, if the participants were previously suffering maladjustment due to family conflict, many may have been largely removed from the conflict at the time the data was collected. Furthermore, on the average, it had been over 10 years since the time the divorce had occurred. This has implications for the results of the current study, as the meta-analysis conducted by Amato and Keith (1991) indicated that greater maladjustment was evidenced by children from divorced families when the divorce had occurred within the previous two years. Therefore, these results may not generalize to other ethnic groups to those from families in which the divorce had occurred more recently, or to clinical samples.

A third limitation is that due to the fairly large sample sizes required by structural equation modeling, full gender, age, or ethnic comparisons could not be made. Furthermore, due to sample size limitations, the results were limited to maternal grandmothers. Different findings regarding grandparents' role in divorce may emerge

from the study of grandparents that vary in kinship position and gender. Gender and age have both been implicated as important moderator variables for families facing divorce. Ideally, the data would have been analyzed via multiple group structural equation models, with groups based on parental marital status, age, gender, and grandparent kinship status. However, such an analysis would have required a much larger sample of youth from divorced families.

Finally, Amato and Keith (1991) cite several studies that indicate that children from intact families with high levels of family conflict may actually experience more maladjustment than children from divorced families (Berg & Kelly, 1979; Booth, Brinkerhoff, & White, 1984; Greenberg & Nay, 1982; Kelly & Berg, 1978; Long, 1986; Nye, 1957; Peterson & Zill, 1986; Webster-Stratton, 1989). However, it should be emphasized that other theoretical considerations (e.g., parental absence and economic deprivation) also receive empirical support (Amato & Keith, 1991; Hetherington et al., 1998); therefore, mechanisms other than parental conflict also come into play in explaining children's post-divorce adjustment. Nevertheless, not including a measure of parental conflict, particularly for those participants from intact families, presents a potential confound to the interpretation of the results of the current study and should be considered to be a limitation of the current study. However, even if a measure of perceptions of family conflict were included, the self-report format employed in the current study would itself present a limitation, as the results would be subject to self-report biases.

Implications for Future Research

The results of the current study present several implications for future research. First and foremost, attempts should be made to replicate and expand the current results through prospective longitudinal studies. Such studies would allow researchers to observe the protection that grandparents provide to children from divorced families over time. These studies should also address parental conflict to more closely examine the independent and joint contributions that divorce and parental conflict pose to children from divorced families. In addition, such studies may expand the potential clinical utility of the current results by alerting researchers to a possible protective role grandparents can play for children from intact but conflict-filled homes.

The current study examines post-divorce psychological adjustment without attending to the age at which the divorce occurred or the number of years since the divorce occurred. Future studies that examine these variables may be more revealing in terms of demonstrating a unique role that grandparents can play in the transition of divorce.

The analyses of the current study were limited due to the number of participants from divorced families; therefore, gender and ethnic comparisons were not possible, and the results were limited to maternal grandmothers, due to an insufficient number of subjects. Future studies should attempt to obtain larger samples of youth from divorced families in order to include such comparisons. In light of the findings of Minkler et al. (1992) demonstrating the important role that African-American grandparents often play in the lives of their grandchildren, it is plausible that including ethnic comparisons may yield more powerful findings than those of the current study. In addition, future studies

should attempt to obtain samples with larger age ranges and greater variability in the number of years since divorce, as well as exploring different kinship positions and gender of grandparents, in order to expand the generalizability of the current results. Future studies may also explore the role of the grandparent to whom the youth feels closest, as opposed to imposing the limitation of examining specific grandparent gender or kinship pattern.

Finally, the sample for the current study consisted of a convenience sample of volunteers. Although the findings present potential clinical contributions such as making a concerted effort to include grandparents in post-divorce counseling may lead to children more effectively adjusting to the divorce of their parents, extrapolating results from a convenience to a clinical sample can be problematic. Therefore, it is also recommended that these results be replicated in a clinical sample of families referred for post-divorce counseling.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRES

The Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment
(Adapted for use with grandparents)

	Almost Never Or Never	Seldom True	Sometimes True	Often True	Almost Always
1. My grandparents respect my feelings.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel my grandparents are successful as grandparents.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I wish I had different grandparents.	1	2	3	4	5
4. My grandparents accept me as I am.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I have to rely on myself when I have a problem to solve.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I like to get my grandparents' point of view on things I'm concerned about.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I feel it's no use letting my feelings show.	1	2	3	4	5
8. My grandparents sense when I'm upset about something.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Talking over my problems with my grandparents makes me feel ashamed or foolish.	1	2	3	4	5
10. My grandparents expect too much from me.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I get upset easily at home.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I get upset a lot more than my grandparents know about.	1	2	3	4	5
13. When we discuss things, my grandparents respect my point of view.	1	2	3	4	5
14. My grandparents trust my judgment.	1	2	3	4	5
15. My grandparents have their own problems, so I don't bother them with mine.	1	2	3	4	5
16. My grandparents help me to understand myself better.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I tell my grandparents about my problems and troubles.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I feel angry with my grandparents.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I don't get much attention at home.	1	2	3	4	5
20. My grandparents encourage me to talk about my difficulties.	1	2	3	4	5
21. My grandparents understand me.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I don't know whom I can depend on these days.	1	2	3	4	5
23. When I am angry about something, my grandparents try to be understanding.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I trust my grandparents.	1	2	3	4	5
25. My grandparent's don't understand what I'm going through these days.	1	2	3	4	5
26. I can count on my grandparents when I need to get something off my chest.	1	2	3	4	5
27. I feel that no one understands me.	1	2	3	4	5

28. If my grandparents know something is bothering me, they ask me about it. 1 2 3 4 5

Perceptions of Grandparents Scale

Please circle one of the numbers following questions. The meaning of each number is as follows:

1 = Never
2 = Less than half of the time
3 = Half of the time
4 = More than half of the time
5 = Always

1. Is your grandmother a jolly person and fun to be with?	1	2	3	4	5
2. Has she inspired you in your religious beliefs?	1	2	3	4	5
3. Does she give you advice on what is morally correct?	1	2	3	4	5
4. Does she give you advice about your career plans?	1	2	3	4	5
5. Does she give you advice about marriage partners?	1	2	3	4	5
6. Does she give you advice about problems with friends?	1	2	3	4	5
7. How often did your grandmother discipline you?	1	2	3	4	5
8. Is she present at all family gatherings?	1	2	3	4	5
9. Is she present just during holidays?	1	2	3	4	5
10. How much time did/does your grandmother help in your physical care?	1	2	3	4	5
11. How often did/does your grandmother take you to parks, playgrounds, or other places of recreation?	1	2	3	4	5
12. How often did/does your grandmother get involved in problems between you and your parents?	1	2	3	4	5
13. How often did/does your grandmother help you with your homework?	1	2	3	4	5
14. How often did/does your grandmother take you to church or synagogue?	1	2	3	4	5
15. Has she ever been a substitute parent to you?	1	2	3	4	5
16. Is she always available when you need her?	1	2	3	4	5
17. Is she consulted when family decisions have to be made?	1	2	3	4	5
18. Does her opinion carry weight in family decisions?	1	2	3	4	5
19. Does she make peace during trouble with your family?	1	2	3	4	5

Please circle one of the numbers following questions. The meaning of each number is as follows:

1 = Had a very negative influence in this area of my life
2 = Had somewhat of a negative influence
3 = Had no influence
4 = Had somewhat of a positive influence
5 = Had a very positive influence

1.	What was her influence on your choice of religion?	1	2	3	4	5
2.	What was her influence on your career goals?	1	2	3	4	5
3.	What was her influence on what you do for recreation?	1	2	3	4	5
4.	What was her influence on the hobbies you have chosen?	1	2	3	4	5
5.	To what extent did she influence you to do volunteer work?	1	2	3	4	5
6.	To what extent did she influence you to go to college?	1	2	3	4	5
7.	To what extent did she influence you to join clubs?	1	2	3	4	5
8.	To what extent is your personality or behavior like hers?	1	2	3	4	5
9.	To what extent has she influenced the way you handle physical or mental problems?	1	2	3	4	5
10.	To what extent did she influence you to develop special skills?	1	2	3	4	5

Relationship Competence Scale

Please describe yourself by rating how well the following statements match you. Answer according to how you act or feel most of the time--that is, what you are typically like. Answer every question, even if you are not quite sure what rating to make. Please use the following 1-to-4 rating system to describe the degree to which each statement applies to you. For each item, write in the space next to the statement the number which represents how characteristic the statement is of you. Write legibly so that your choice is clear.

4 - Strongly agree or very much like me
3 - Agree, somewhat like me, or more like me than not
2 - Disagree, somewhat unlike me, or more unlike me than like me
1 - Strongly disagree or very much unlike me

____ 1. I usually treat others quite gently.
____ 2. It is important for me to show warmth and concern for others.
____ 3. I really am thoughtful and considerate of others.
____ 4. I am very soft-hearted.
____ 5. I sometimes find myself getting bored when others talk on about their problems.
____ 6. I must admit that it takes awhile for me to start caring about someone new.
____ 7. I almost never get emotionally involved in other people's thoughts.
____ 8. Others would describe me as quite kind.
____ 9. Sometimes my actions lack sensitivity for others.
____ 10. My manner might sometimes cause people to think I don't care.
____ 11. Other people are often undependable when it counts.
____ 12. I find it safer to be somewhat suspicious of other people's motives.
____ 13. People are usually very dependable and trustworthy.
____ 14. I enjoy sharing with and relying on people.
____ 15. It is not smart to put all your trust in another person.
____ 16. I am confident my close friends are always true to me.
____ 17. It is important to trust other people.
____ 18. There are usually very few, if any, people with whom I feel it is safe to be completely open.
____ 19. I can count on my close friends.
____ 20. I am somewhat cautious with new friends, knowing many friendships are temporary.

The Self-Efficacy Scale

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. When I make plans, I am certain that I can make them work.	1	2	3	4	5
2. One of my problems is that I cannot get down to work when I should.	1	2	3	4	5
3. If I can't do a job the first time, I keep trying until I can.	1	2	3	4	5
4. When I set important goals for myself, I rarely achieve them.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I give up on things before completing them.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I avoid facing difficulties.	1	2	3	4	5
7. If something looks too complicated, I will not even bother to try it.	1	2	3	4	5
8. When I have something unpleasant to do, I stick to it until I finish it.	1	2	3	4	5
9. When I decide to do something, I go right to work on it.	1	2	3	4	5
10. When trying to learn something new, I soon give up if I am not initially successful.	1	2	3	4	5
11. When unexpected problems occur, I don't handle them very well.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I avoid trying to learn new things when they look too difficult.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Failure just makes me try harder.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I feel insecure about my ability to do things.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I am a self-reliant person.	1	2	3	4	5
16. I give up easily.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I do not seem capable of dealing with most problems that come up in my life.	1	2	3	4	5

The Hopkins Symptom Checklist

This page lists problems that people sometimes have. Please read each one carefully, and circle the number that best describes HOW MUCH THAT PROBLEMS HAS DISTRESSED OR BOTHERED YOU DURING THE PAST 7 DAYS INCLUDING TODAY. Circle only one number for each problem and do not skip any times.

During the last seven days, how much were you distressed by:

	Not at all	A Little Bit	Moderately	Quite a Bit	Extremely
1. Headaches	0	1	2	3	4
2. Nervousness or shakiness inside	0	1	2	3	4
3. Faintness or dizziness	0	1	2	3	4
4. Pains in the heart or chest	0	1	2	3	4
5. Feeling low in energy or slowed down	0	1	2	3	4
6. Thoughts of ending your life	0	1	2	3	4
7. Trembling	0	1	2	3	4
8. Poor appetite	0	1	2	3	4
9. Crying easily	0	1	2	3	4
10. A feeling of being trapped or caught	0	1	2	3	4
11. Suddenly scared for no reason	0	1	2	3	4
12. Blaming yourself for things	0	1	2	3	4
13. Pains in the lower part of your back	0	1	2	3	4
14. Feeling lonely	0	1	2	3	4
15. Feeling blue	0	1	2	3	4
16. Worrying or stewing about things	0	1	2	3	4
17. Feeling no interest in things	0	1	2	3	4
18. Feeling fearful	0	1	2	3	4
19. Heart pounding or racing	0	1	2	3	4
20. Soreness of your muscles	0	1	2	3	4
21. Trouble getting your breath	0	1	2	3	4
22. Hot or cold spells	0	1	2	3	4
23. Having to avoid certain places or activities because they frighten you	0	1	2	3	4
24. Numbness or tingling in parts of your body	0	1	2	3	4
25. A lump in your throat	0	1	2	3	4
26. Feeling hopeless about the future	0	1	2	3	4
27. Weakness in parts of your body	0	1	2	3	4
28. Heavy feelings in your arms or legs	0	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX B

ILLUSTRATIONS OF STRUCTURAL EQUATION MODELS

Figure 1. Hypothesized Path Diagram

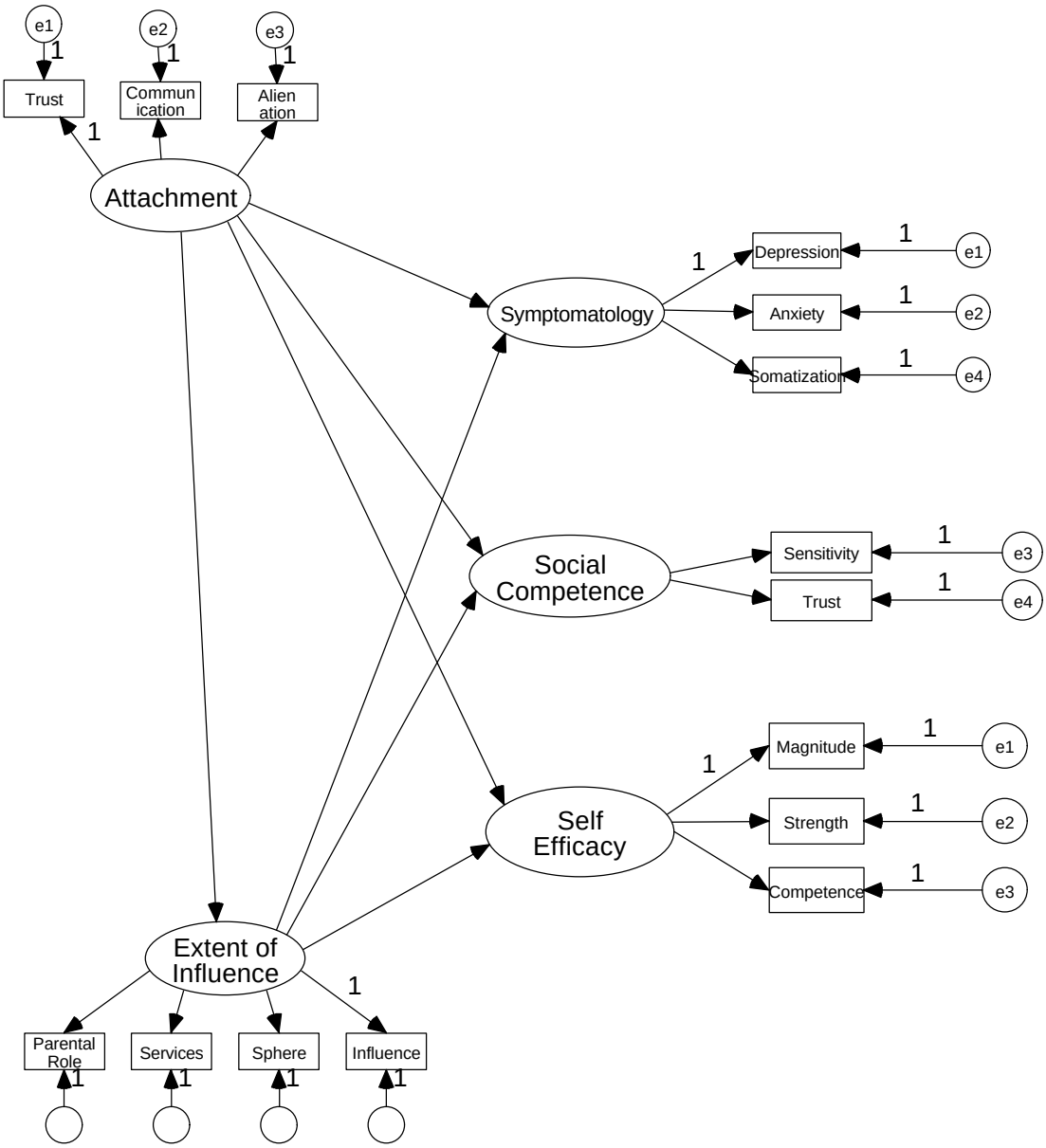


Figure 2. Path Coefficients for Outcome Variables in the Sample of Youth from Divorced Families

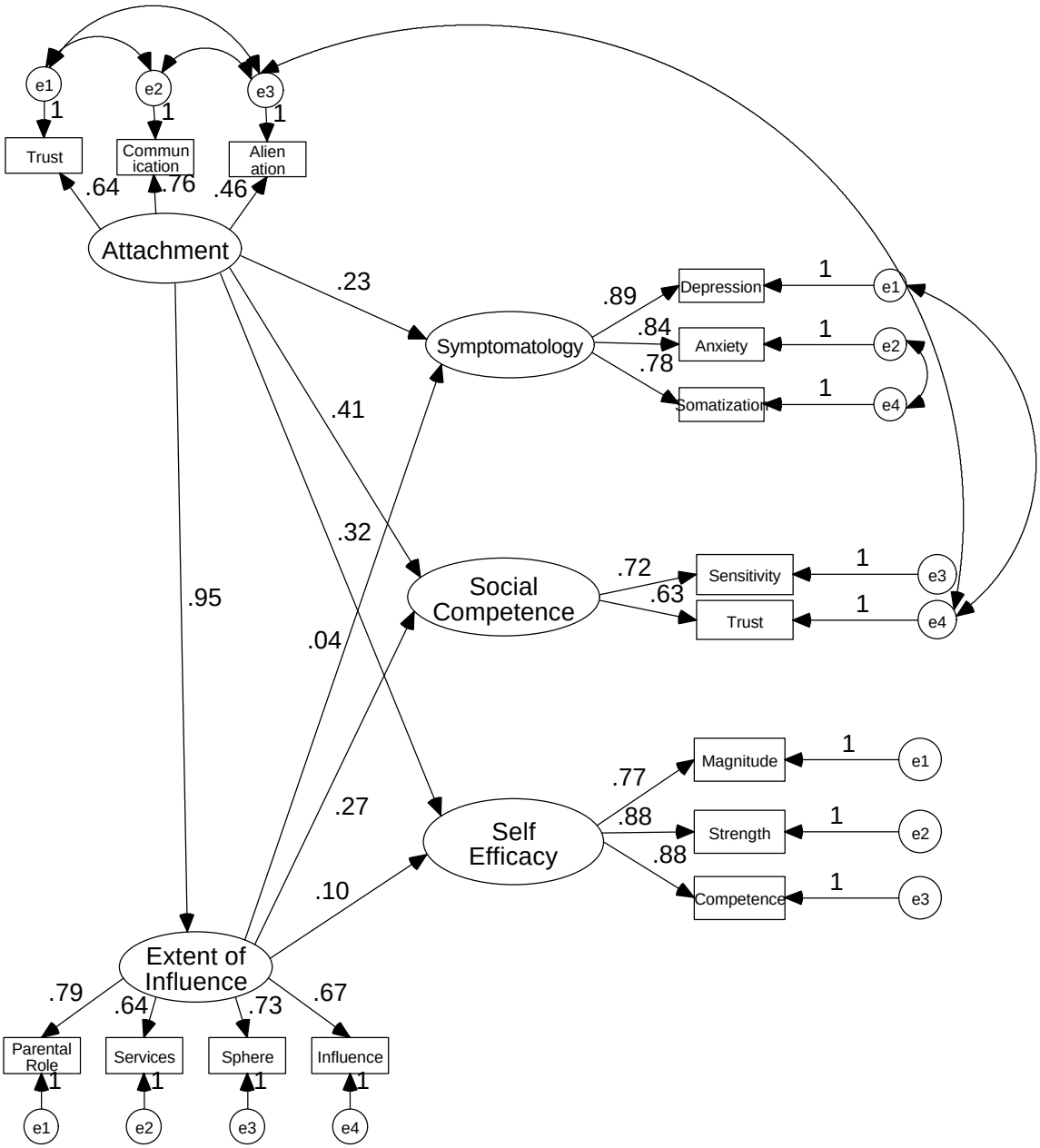


Figure 3. Path Coefficients for Outcome Variables Excluding Grandparent Influence in the Sample of Youth from Divorced Families

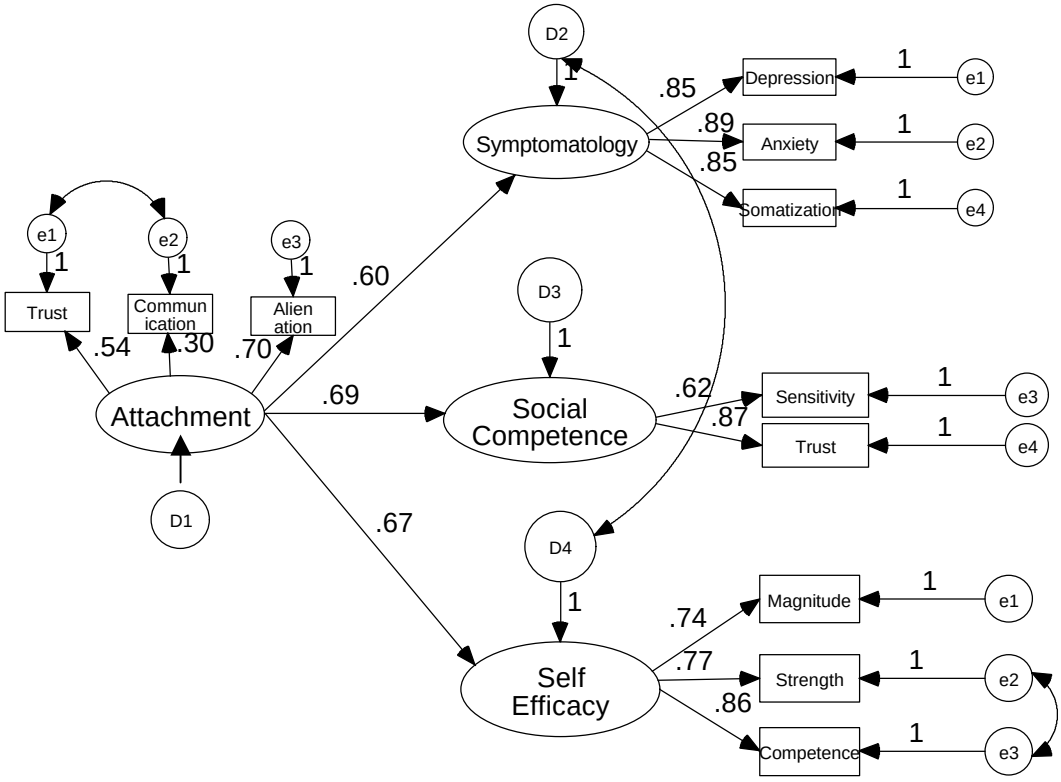


Figure 4. Path Coefficients for Outcome Variables Excluding Grandparent Influence in the Sample of Youth from Married Families

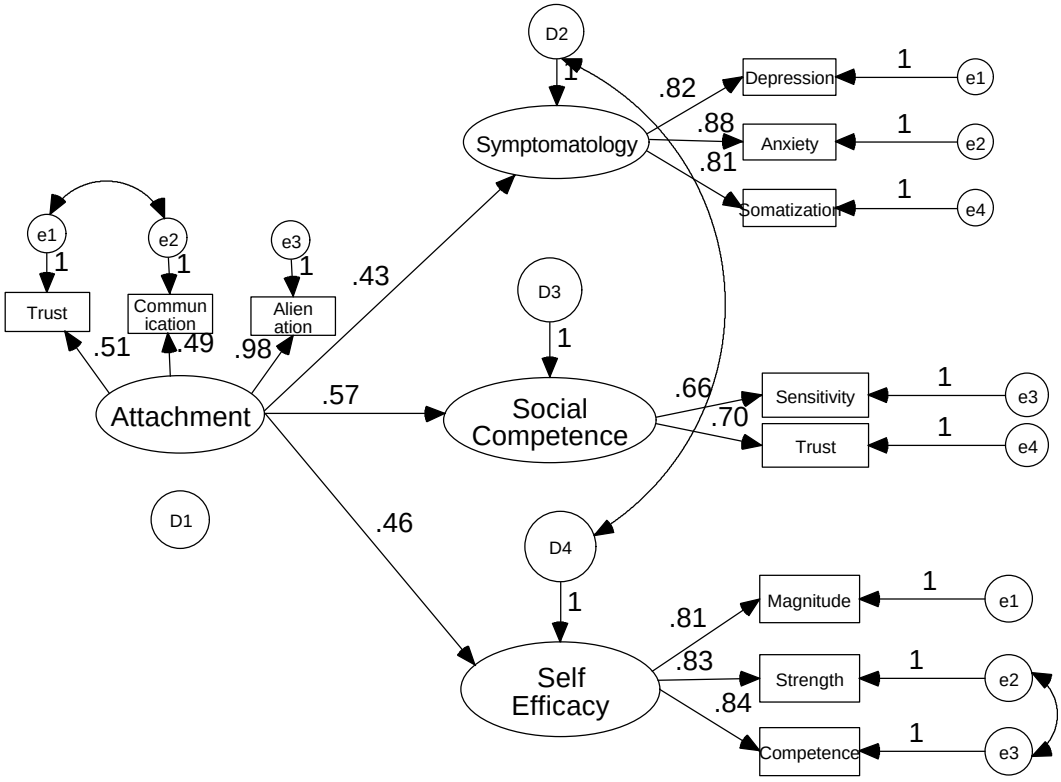
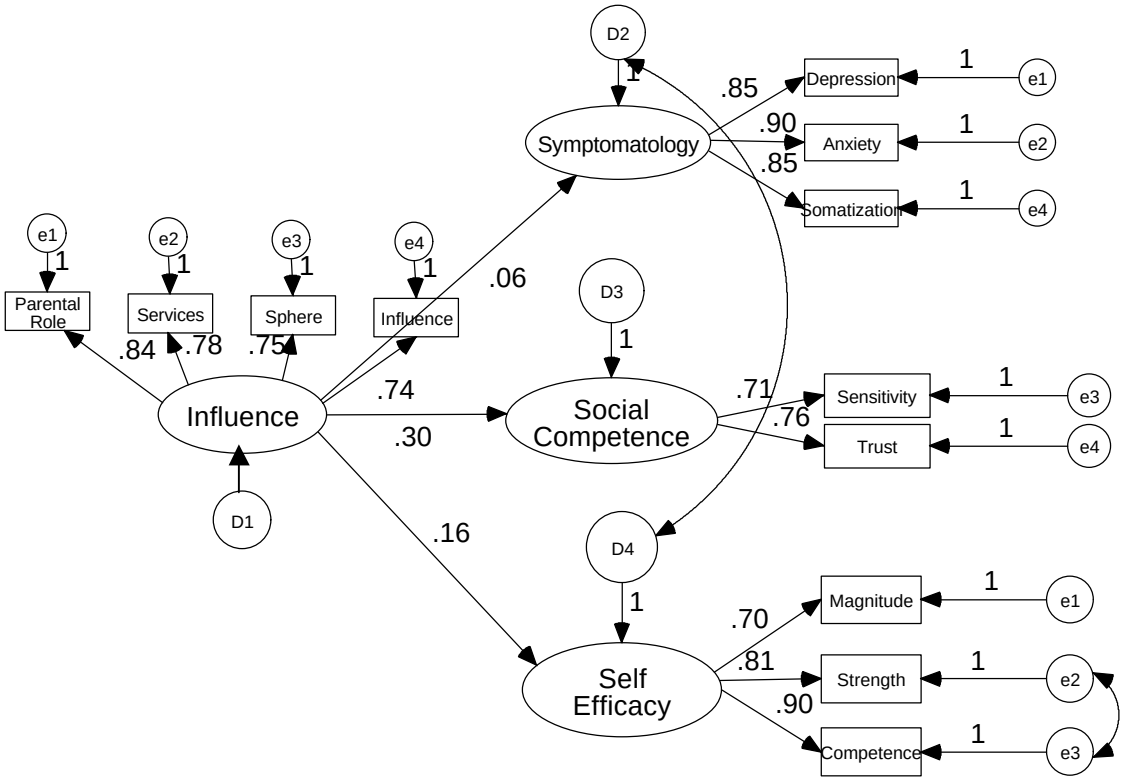


Figure 5. Path Coefficients for Outcome Variables in the Sample of Youth from Divorced Families Using Grandparent Influence



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